OUR UNCONSCIOUS MIND

FREDERICK PIERCE

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AND HOW TO USE IT

BY

FREDERICK PIERCE

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To an Unfailing Friend

To an Inspiring Love

To an Unfaltering Trust

and

To Human Service

THIS BOOK IS REVERENTLY DEDICATED

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FOREWORD

THE form of this book has been determined by a considerable body of those who will read it, for it is arranged to meet the need, so many times expressed in my lecture audiences, of a simple and practical treatment of the subject that should be written in terms comprehensible to the layman. Terminology, the jargon of a science, is invented by scientists for purposes of convenience and accuracy; but in recent psychological research the progress has been so rapid and the lines of development so diversified that there has not yet been time for crystallization of descriptive terms, with the result that even among psychologists themselves there is not yet an effective agreement. Tansley's use of the word "complex," for example, is in a far different sense from that of the psychoanalytic school; and there is wide divergence of meaning among various writers who use the term "libido," few of them giving it exclusively the sense in which it was originally used by Jung. To discard technical language entirely, in the preparation of this work, was well-nigh out of the question; but I have tried to use it as little as possible and wherever its use was compulsory I have tried to define my meaning so that it should be both clear and accurately stated.

For the most part I have omitted discussion of psychoanalysis and kept to the underlying principles. Experience has convinced me that the average casual reader of psychoanalytic works has found himself hopelessly entangled in the maze of mechanisms for which his mind has not been prepared. To understand the activities of the Unconscious and their relation to those of the Conscious, it seems to me that one should first have a clear picture of such matters as how perceptions are conditioned by wish-feelings en route to response, and the nature of the difference between wish-feelings at the two levels. It seems equally important to grasp the relation of mental states to endocrine gland activities. Furthermore, since Suggestion is one of the vitally important determinants in human conduct, and since I have been so fortunate during my work in Switzerland as to be in contact with its most advanced theory and practice, it has seemed logical to point out its relation to what might be termed the Physiological Unconscious—the involuntary nerve-and-muscle system.

The new law advanced—the "Law of Dominant Affect"—has proved accurate experimentally and of real importance in the additions which it has made possible to Autosuggestion technique. A theory, as Kempf has remarked, is worth its working value; and the applications of this theory have given definite results. Critical comparison will show that it is a radical advance from the admitted law of auxil-

iary emotion, since the Law of Dominant Affect bases the entire technique on the creation and stimulation of a carefully designed phantasy.

If any apology is needed for including the section on Advertising and Selling in this general work, it must be pleaded that in our busy country one may fairly suppose a considerable number of readers to be interested in the business applications as well as in those which relate to home, family, and personal problems.

For valuable suggestions in studies during past years, my sincere thanks are extended to Dr. A. A. Brill, Dr. Smith Ely Jelliffe, and Dr. Walter Timme, of New York. To Dr. Hector Mortimer of London, and to Prof. Dr. Charles Baudouin of Geneva, I wish to acknowledge a particular debt of gratitude —to the one for his constructive criticism during the preparation of the book, and to the other for his generous exposition of the Autosuggestion work at the Rousseau Institute. Finally toward those groups in the cities of the Middle West who first extended to me an invitation to their platforms, there is a deeply felt and enduring gratitude for their generous and always stimulating welcome. To encounter them again will be one of the pleasures of homecoming.

F. P.

CELIGNY, SWITZERLAND,
October 8th, 1921.

CONTENTS

PAGE

EXPLANATORY: THE WHY AND WHEREFOR . . . 1

CHAPTER

I. THE OPERATING TOWER 5

II. BEHIND THE SCENES WITH A HUMAN MIND . 15

III. LIBIDO AND THE DOMINANT WISH 46

IV. THE ENDOCRINE GLANDS, COMPENSATION STRIVING, AND FALSE GOALS 67

V. AUTOSUGGESTION 89

VI. APPLICATION TO EVERYDAY LIFE 132

VII. MAKING A CONTENTED HUMAN GROUP . . 230

VIII. THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY IN ADVERTISING AND SELLING 267

BIBLIOGRAPHY 321

OUR UNCONSCIOUS MIND

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EXPLANATORY: THE WHY AND WHEREFOR

WHAT ONE MAY GET FROM THESE PAGES FOR PERSONAL USE

THE healthiest and most promising sign of the current day in American life is the rapid growth of popular interest in an understanding of the true inwardness of a human being. It is as if the collective mind of the people, unconsciously stimulated by evidence of progress that follows research in agriculture, biology, medicine, chemistry, machines, manufacturing methods, and scores of other branches of human activity, was stirring itself to a direct demand for the same intensive effort and progress in the field of human motives. "If science can improve the products of the soil," people seem to be asking, "if it can raise the standard of living, lower the death rate and increase the expectation of life, why should it not show the way to a better group coöperation and human relationship?"

It can. It is already beginning to chart the route. It has brought to light an understanding of the hidden motives—the real driving power that controls

men, women, and children—which promises to human beings a tremendous advance in the art of living together. This understanding has come from research in the field of what may be most simply described as the *unconscious mind;* a field which we know was one of the thought foci of the speculative thinkers of Egypt at least thirty centuries ago.

Tansley, in the conclusion of his admirable work, *The New Psychology,** remarks: ". . . though still in its infancy, still facing a great deal that is obscure, still with many of its concepts and analyses somewhat vague and hesitating, still without the means of applying quantitative methods, the new science of the mind has made a definite successful beginning. It can already give the conclusions of intuitive wisdom something of the precision of science, it can exhibit unsuspected connections, throw light on the dark places of the mind, and obtain definitely successful results in psychotherapy. Its fundamental postulates, the doctrines of psychic determination and of the derivation of the springs of all human action from instinctive sources, are essential as working hypotheses."

The man who many believe will go down in history as the most important discoverer and blazer of trails in the recent research is Prof. Sigmund Freud, of Vienna. Working in neurology and psychiatry, his discoveries, and the theories which he developed from them, necessarily dealt with the abnormal. It

* *The New Psychology and its Relation to Life,* by A. G. Tansley. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

is, however, a common experience that from a study of the abnormal we learn of the normal. When a newly designed machine breaks down, the designer learns as much from the breaking as from the machine's normal performance. Freud's theories, often ignorantly and sensationally handled by writers who had only the most sketchy knowledge of them, at first met with the reception so frequently accorded to discoveries which upset comfortably rutted minds. But their essential truth was irresistible, and by 1915 we find such an authority as Prof. E. B. Holt remarking in the preface to his admirable book *The Freudian Wish,** "Now Freud's contribution to science is notable, and in my opinion epoch-making. . . . he has given us a key to the explanation of mind. . . . It is the first key which psychology has ever had which fitted, and moreover I believe it is the only one that psychology will ever need."

For my part, I am glad to acknowledge that it is this key which unlocked the door to my study and experiment of the last six years. Therefore to the Vienna master more than to any other I owe whatever I have been able to get clear in my own mind, and which in the succeeding pages I shall try to pass on to the service of my fellow Americans, about the following:

Some riddles in human conduct, our own as well as others'—Control and operation of the will (and

* *The Freudian Wish and its Place in Ethics,* by E. B. Holt. Henry Holt & Co., New York.

better than that, something that can be substituted for "will" which makes the attainment of one's goal much easier than by "force of will")—Ridding the day of conflict and contention—Elimination of worry —Growing abler, in place of growing old—Raising successful children—A new view of the "difficult" child—Tapping the reservoir of greatest energy—Setting the unconscious mind at work—A business organization that will get more done—Making production a pleasure instead of a labor—Constructing a satisfied human group (the practical steps toward ironing out some of our industrial and political wrinkles)—Replacing personal opinion with exact knowledge, in merchandising, advertising and selling.

CHAPTER I

THE OPERATING TOWER

IF the denizens of our large cities, who spend a part of each day anathematizing the telephone operators in central stations, could pay a half-hour's visit to one of these stations during a peak-load period, there is little doubt that the anathemas would cease then, there, and forevermore. For a central station telephone exchange is a striking object lesson in how nearly a complicated series of human actions, mental and physical, may be brought to the state and speed of an automatic machine.

Somewhere a receiver is snatched from a hook. On the operator's desk a signal flashes, her hand lifts a plug and snaps it into place, her voice inquires, her ear registers a number (often spoken indistinctly), her voice repeats it, her hand snaps in another plug for the second station, her ear registers an answer, her voice again repeats the number. At the second station the other operator has seen a signal, answered, heard a number, repeated it, snapped in a plug and set a bell ringing. Complicated enough, in itself, this series of actions, when one considers the relatively few seconds consumed in the entire process; but add to them the number of other wires that

are signalling or being held while rung by other stations, and it quickly becomes impossible for any person but a trained operator to follow the speed of the perception-and-response pattern.

Rapid and adroit as it is, however, it can give but the palest and faintest impression of the central station of the human body. If I am so unlucky as to stick a pin in the end of my finger, the signal is carried along an inward-bound nerve path, the perception is registered in consciousness, an order is despatched over a parallel outward-bound nerve path to a whole series of muscles, the finger is jerked away, and the whole process of affect and effect has taken perhaps the fiftieth part of a second. (The reaction time varies widely for reasons that will appear in another section.) Speed is not the point which I want to emphasize; it is merely of incidental interest in some of the functions of the system that we are examining. What is really important in the illustration just given is the reason why the finger was jerked away. It will not suffice merely to say that there was pain, because pain is only a name for a certain sort of affect. And there are many sorts of pain to which there is no such reflexive act as attempting to get away. What happened was that the central station received information that *the environment of the finger was unsatisfactory.* Whereupon it called upon coöperative muscles to move the finger away; in other words *to change the unsatisfactory environment.*

If now we pass from an external touch perception to an internal one—let us take the stomach for example—we may find the same mechanism at work. A child has partaken of too much rich food. The terminals of the stomach's perceptive nerves transmit the information that the internal environment is unsatisfactory, whereupon an order is sent over the parallel lines to the appropriate muscles and these set in motion a reversed peristalsis, thus emptying the stomach—changing the unsatisfactory environment. A still higher degree of coöperation is instanced when the blood vessels around a wound mobilize the white corpuscles of the blood to fight an infection.

Let us suppose that a woman is passing under a lighted gas jet around which someone has been so careless as to arrange a paper shade. The shade takes fire and ignites the woman's hair. The perception of the unsatisfactory environment of the head promptly registers, but no good will come of sending any order over the outgoing paths to the scalp. Coöperation is required here between separate members of the body; the order goes to the muscles of both legs, which obligingly remove the head from the cause of the unsatisfactory environment—and it is to be hoped that the hands will do their bit also in quickly stopping the conflagration in the hair, thus completing the change in the head's environment.

These suppositions have dealt only with surround-

ings that were unsatisfactory. But if a fragrant flower be held under the nose the reaction is quite different. The order sent out will be, not to change, but to get more. Instead of avoidance of, there will now be extension toward, as a response to the stimulus. The same will be true if sugar is put in a baby's mouth; if the eye perceives an agreeable combination of colors or grouping of lines; or if the ear is stimulated by harmonious sounds.

The principle then is that, of any perception coming into the central station, *one of three things must be true of the affect.* It must be either agreeable, disagreeable, or indifferent. And the tendency is to transmit orders which will adjust the environment, or adjust to the environment, accordingly. The terminal end of any perceptive nerve may be spoken of as a "receptor" (or "receiver"); the impression which its message makes at the central station is an "affect"; and the order (if any) transmitted over the outward bound lines may be called the "response" or effort at adjustment. Some of these efforts at adjustment seem to be wholly instinctive, but in studying them we quickly get beyond that level and find in them thought processes, habit, and established response-models. If I am driving an automobile on a main road, and suddenly from a blind intersection another car appears directly in front of me, the motions which I apply to clutch, brake, and steering wheel, are not instinctive; they are the result of habit based on definite models. If these models had not

been formed, and the habit responses acquired, the right motions would not be made. Similarly, there is no thought process involved; at least none at the conscious level; for time is lacking. The thought process has been worked out beforehand, during earliest driving practice, thus establishing the response model ready for instant reproduction when needed, i.e., when the dangerous environment occurs. The tremendous importance of model formation and habit response will be seen in later pages dealing with practical methods of analyzing and improving one's self.

The muscular processes of a newly born child when it is first given the mother's breast may be taken as a purely instinctive response to a stimulated perception. At adolescence one sees instinct still at work but now working through a most complex system of stimuli, affects, ideas and responses. The increased action of the thyroid gland is stimulating (through its secretions in the blood-stream) other glands and organs—particularly the procreative system. There is an actual change in the chemistry of the blood, which acts as an exciter or stimulus to certain nerves. This in turn produces its affects; the whole complicated and wonderful birth and growth of romance-feeling in a human being. Scarcely perceptible at first, the signs of effort at adjustment multiply slowly. Fortunate is the boy or girl in whom this process is not too rapid. Under our system of education it coincides with the period when the brain is called

upon to assume the more intensive activity of the secondary school. Later we shall see how the energy may be so divided as to make satisfactory school work almost impossible. In many children these are the most critical years of the entire life. If it is true that the seeds of every neurosis are planted during the first seven years, it is equally true that during adolescence they have their greatest chance of intermediate growth.

But to return to the mechanisms:

The background of instinct, in the adolescent, is obvious; and it is equally obvious that no such simple act of adjustment as that of the pin-pricked finger, or the coöperation of feet and hands with the scorched head, will serve to gratify the desire to love and to be loved in the mating sense, with all the manifold adult wishes that follow in train; the ideas of companionship, a home, achievement, children, etc. It must not be forgotten that whatever models the child has for these things—its emotional models, so to speak—for various situations, are none of them practical. They have not been developed out of specific teaching, or out of experience. They have come mainly from observation; and in the average child they hardly exist in consciousness. (Emphatically this does not imply that they are weak. We shall see later that they exist mainly in a field which we shall call the "unconscious," and that they have a very great intensity which is partly primitive.) The situation is something like that of the man who when

asked if he could play the piano replied that he didn't know because he had never tried. There is a chemical stimulation going on which produces affects that demand radical efforts at adjustment. Neither experience nor training has provided any thought processes that would establish adequate models of response. Unfortunately, in the average instance, there has grown up a barrier of reserve between child and parents making impossible that simple confidence by which the child might have steady access through these difficult years, to the stored experience and knowledge of life in the parents' minds. In the hour of our greatest trial we are alone. There remains nothing for the adolescent but to make the adjustment by the often painful process of trial and error; acquiring its own experiences and from them developing its own forms of response. At each step there will be a thought process; so that from the first half-formed phantasies of having a sweetheart, through the (usually, I think, unconsciously experimental) "calf loves," to the final goal of successful mating in marriage, and the founding of a home, we may trace a series of the most intricate and complex coöperative acts, all originating from the same stimulus, and *all aiming toward acquiring a satisfactory change of environment.*

The stimulus affect has had to call on thought processes. These have had to turn over, examine, regroup and consider such images, or models, as observation, hearsay and reading have imprinted on the

memory. The orders over the outward bound lines have then been to reproduce and try out these models. From the results of these try-outs new material has been supplied for the thought processes, so that gradually, by trial-and-failure as well as by trial-and-success, the models of action have been found that will lead to the desired goal.

We must not overlook the fact that all the time two conflicting forces have been at work; on the one hand the primitive instinctive effort of the central station *so to operate the machine as to get its wishes:* on the other hand the effort of cultural training *to keep the operation within bounds approved by the social group.* Here then are two divisions of mental activity sharply opposed to each other; one functioning chiefly at an unconscious, the other at a conscious level. The first is natural, instinctive, primitive, concerned not with morals or manners but solely with securing a satisfactory environment—in other words, fulfilling its wishes. The second has the job of finding a working compromise, of checking the primitive when it fails to square with the conscious ethical sense and public opinion.

The main effort of the central station in the foregoing instance was toward a change of environment that would produce gratification. But suppose a manufacturer is confronted with a business situation that threatens serious loss. The affect is painful, and the effort will be to avert disaster. Fear will powerfully reinforce the motive. His thought processes

have adequate stores of experiences (images or models of response) to turn to, but it is necessary to arouse affects in the central stations of others; his assistants, his friends, his bankers, etc. The series of stimuli and responses, with their reinforcing fears, desire for money, desire for power, personal regard, and the like, through which the trouble is finally avoided, would require an entire book for their analysis. The final result has been to change an environment that was acutely distressing. *This in itself fulfills a wish.* As a matter of fact *every operation of the central station is toward that end.*

We have now the following principles in hand:

1. That through inbound and outbound nerve paths any perceptive stimulus may produce an affect to which there is an effort at response.

2. That the response, however complex, is in the general form of extension toward, or change of, the environment.

3. That response-models are formed through experience and observation.

4. That the response may be instinctive, may follow an acquired model (habit response), or may have to wait for a thought process.

5. That the driving force is always a wish.

6. That the wish may be either unconscious or conscious.

7. That the two wish-fields are often in conflict.

8. That the thought processes required are often elaborate in the extreme, and that they are always at

the service of two masters—the unconscious and the conscious.

In the next chapter, "Behind the Scenes with a Human Mind" we shall see these principles at work under extraordinary circumstances.

CHAPTER II

BEHIND THE SCENES WITH A HUMAN MIND

THE following very interesting case of conversion hysteria has been selected because by taking it apart and putting it together again one may construct a complete working diagram of the human mind; not in the sense of anatomy but in the sense of graphics. The case shows many of the operations of the central station, it shows the interplay of the conscious and unconscious, and it reveals many things which explain human conduct far beyond our average everyday understanding of it.

A man of thirty, married, and the father of two children, goes to bed at night apparently in ordinarily good health. He awakens in the morning to find that his right arm is fixed firmly behind him, with the forearm across the small of his back. He is unable to move it. In every other respect he feels perfectly well, is in full possession of all his senses and faculties. There is no pain in the arm, and it is only slightly numb. There is no apparent reason why he should not move it and use it as freely as ever; but he cannot do it.

Examination by physicians shows that the arm is perfectly sound, and that there is no evidence of ill-

ness of any sort whatever. The man himself has not the remotest idea why the arm is immovable, yet he has no more power over it than if it were paralyzed. If sufficient force is applied by others the arm can be moved, but this occasions severe pain and when the force is removed the arm resumes instantly its fixed position. To add to the puzzle, *there is no sense of fatigue*. This fact we shall find later gives the key to one of the most valuable of recent discoveries in methods of doing mental work, a discovery which has possibilities of tremendous importance to all of us.

Fortunately, the knowledge and technique are today available both to give an accurate diagnosis and to cure the symptom. The case is one of conversion of an unconscious mental conflict into a *physical symbol* of the conflict. (Hysteria, a neurotic disease, should not be confused with the spasmodic laughing and crying commonly called "hysterics.") It is well to say "cure the symptom," rather than "cure the disease," because while the arm may surely be released to its full natural use there is no absolute certainty that at some future time the man will not give evidence of his hysteric trend in some other way.

It is not necessary to describe here the psychoanalytic method by which the case is to be explored, further than to say that, with the assistance of the analyst, the patient is going to be enabled to recover significant memory impressions which have been entirely lost to (suppressed from) consciousness. Psy-

choanalysis has been so extensively written of by competent authorities—and by some who are neither competent nor authorities—that there is an ample literature available to all who wish to study it. What we are concerned with here is an understanding of the mental mechanisms rather than of the method of treating them when they get out of gear. Arrangements are made for our patient to have an hour or more a day with the analyst, and he is encouraged to discuss whatever thoughts may be in his mind or may come to him in the course of his talking. For several days the interviews may be taken up by an apparently pointless stream of ideas. He will be encouraged to recall if possible his recent dreams and relate them, for a purpose which will appear later. It develops, in this case only after many sessions, for a reason which also will appear later, that on the very evening before the attack there had been a most unpleasant domestic scene. The patient had boxed the ears of his older child, a boy aged seven. His wife had resented this, had reproached him angrily, and had declared that in thus striking the child he might injure him for life. In telling of the incident he recalls that while he had felt that the boy's mother had absurdly overrated the importance of what to him seemed only slight and ordinary punishment of a disobedient child, nevertheless he had for some reason felt a sense of guilt and had not been able to make any adequate reply. He recalls further, now, that very often during his eight years of married life he

had felt this inability to defend himself when his wife had reproached him for anything. His general description of the family life makes it evident enough that the wife is the real head of the household, that he is in fact dominated by her, although this last has not been admitted in his conscious mind; in other words he is unaware of it as a domination.

Aside from the fact that the analyst's training enables him to see in this incident the key to his case, two things mark it as important. In the first place, it is rather noteworthy that this memory of something by no means unimportant, which had occurred just before the onset of the illness, should not have appeared in one of the very first interviews. In the second place, the patient's reactions while discussing it give evidence of considerable emotional affect. The analyst encourages a thorough review of the episode with all of the associated memories which it stimulates. In succeeding interviews these lead back over the trail of the years to childhood, and it becomes evident from the patient's description of his early life that his mother had been much the same sort of energetic and "masterful" woman as is his wife, quick of temper and forthright of speech. When he was two years old, a younger brother had been born, a child who as he recalls quite definitely, "everybody said looked like my father," and from then on he felt that the mother's love was centered on the new arrival and he himself was shut out. "She did her duty by me," he expresses it, "but I always knew I didn't count

as much as little Jack did. She seemed to care about him the way she did about Father. I came third."

As this series of memories comes into consciousness, there is a flood of material that seems to urge for utterance, and there is marked evidence of its emotional character. A point is reached, however, when the patient suddenly stops, and refuses to continue relating his present train of thought. He takes refuge in evasion, says that there is nothing of importance, or that he is tired, or that his memory fails. The practical eye of the analyst, however, has caught signs of great emotional tension. He insists patiently but earnestly that the chain of memories cannot have been broken abruptly unless a part of the mind had strong reasons for breaking it, and that the man must, for his own sake, continue. The resistance is at last overcome and the man relates the following circumstances:

He recognizes that his feeling toward his younger brother was always jealousy. He does not think that he hated him; indeed he is sure there were times when he was fond of the little chap; but always there was a smouldering jealousy and once in a while it would flare up quite uncontrollably. On such occasions he would give way to a fit of childish rage in which he tried to square the situation by using his small fists. Punishments followed, and their gradually increasing severity as he grew older served for the most part to restrain him. But on the younger boy's seventh birthday there had been a climax. The cele-

bration of the day, culminating with a party, contrasted sharply with the observance of his own birthday which for some reason had been rather slighted. At the children's bedtime, the mother was unusually demonstrative over her favorite, held him in her arms and caressed him extravagantly before putting him in his crib, and left the room declaring that he was "the sweetest child in the whole world." The patient remembers that in an agony of spirit he created a phantasy of himself as dead and the mother broken-hearted with remorse over her neglect of him. The next morning he had started a quarrel with the younger boy and was having decidedly the better of the fight which followed, when the mother overheard the affair and put a stop to it. Four months later little Jack had been seized with an illness which the old-fashioned country doctor had announced was "brain fever," and in a fortnight had died. The mother, doubtless hardly herself, what with the strain of the sleepless nights and of her grief, had bitterly accused the patient of having been the cause of his little brother's illness, and hence of his death, because of the blows he had struck on the younger boy's head.

At this point, the patient's memories of the trouble seem really to have run out. He recalls many minor circumstances but nothing that seems actually important. Yet the analyst knows that there is something missing. Stimulation of the memory has recovered the *emotional* images on which the present

onset is modelled, but there still remains the *physical* image—the fixed arm. It is to this which he now directs attention, asking the patient to try to think of the connection between it and the events he has related. At first, the patient cannot recall any. His mind dwells on the brother's death, the mother's reproaches and the terrible guilt which they had made him feel. The delay is not long, however, for the association stimulus (with which we shall presently experiment) is a strong one. His thought drifts back to the fight. To being discovered. To the punishment—and now it comes back in a flash. His mother had been violently angry, angrier than at any other time he could remember. She had said she "would give him a lesson he would never forget." *She had tied his right arm behind his back and forced him to go about with it in that position for seven days.*

With the recovery of these memories, and an explanation of the mechanisms, our patient is cured of the symptom. The arm is released. The affect-energy, having been given a *psychic* discharge, no longer has to use a *physical* path.

If a normal adult becomes involved in an argument with an inefficient or impertinent waiter, he may be for the moment quite angry, but the anger (emotional affect) is dismissed as soon as the episode is over. Unless the matter is serious enough to report to the management, there has been in the mere act of reproof a sufficient response to the affect, particu-

larly if it has secured better service, and thus a more agreeable environment. Experience, and practice in living, supply enough familiar response-models for the needs of every day. The adult is more or less an emotional veteran, able to take any ordinary stroke without wound and without conscious effort. Our patient was able to do this. His wife's reproaches annoyed him but he was not conscious of any serious disturbance. It was a deeper affect, stimulated far back in childhood, to which he had at that time been powerless to make any adequate response, that caused his trouble.

How was this old, forgotten affect stirred into such extraordinary life and activity again?

If you will take pencil and paper and set down in a column a number of simple words, such as dog, blue, high, boy, night, grass, bright, etc., and then have someone pronounce clearly each word, waiting after each one until you respond, you will of course find that after a short interval of time each word brings into your mind either another word or a group of words in the form of phrase or sentence. When "dog" is pronounced you may very likely think of "cat"; to "blue" you may respond with "sky"; to "high" with "hill"; and so on. This is simple association of ideas. But now let us carry the experiment a step farther. Instead of the group let us take one single word, set it down on a clean sheet of paper, retire to a quiet place, relax thoroughly, think of the word, and then set down the entire train of other

words and ideas that follow through the next quarter of an hour. The result will be a good deal of material. This latter can then be separated into divisions or groups of related ideas. I will take an example from one of my note-books, giving only the associations of the first two minutes—some of them were slow in forming:

Stimulus-word, "black";

"Black—white—house—mother—sister—tease—temptation—pleasure—pretty—she is prettier than I —but men like me better—men—I like them tall and dark—my brother—swimming—the lake—camping —the fun we have—the S. boys and their big canoe."

With "black" as the stimulus word it is fair to say that "white" is a simple habit response. The word "house" serves as a junction with the first group of ideas, which concern the family. The word "tease" serves as a junction with some acquired childhood association of pleasure with temptation; possibly a surviving memory-trace of some purloining of forbidden cookies or jam. The word "pretty" forms a junction with ideas of self. "Tall and dark" leads directly to an idea of an idolized brother who plainly has become the image for selecting a mate. The prompt suppression of this idea is significant and interesting. "Swimming" leads quickly to ideas of pleasure derived from close contact with nature, and broader social relations.

The foregoing are simple stimuli applied to the

perceptive nerves (inbound paths) of eye and ear. No analysis is required to observe that the stimulus soon excites an idea which in turn can stimulate an affect in the central station, either agreeable or otherwise. And if the stimulated affect is a strong one the response may be instantaneous—we are all familiar with such remarks as, "I never see lilies of the valley without being reminded of death and funerals." What then prevents consciousness, which is getting all sorts of perceptive stimuli in a more or less constant stream during the waking hours, from being overwhelmed by the mass of associated ideas?

Several things. In the first place the affects excited by many of the stimuli are of such low intensity that no response is required; they have not sufficient energy to demand any discharge; no environmental adjustment is needed. In the second place an adult has acquired so many images, or habit-response models, that the adjustments are made almost automatically, e.g., the many complex motions made in driving an automobile while carrying on a lively conversation which engrosses the conscious attention. But in the third place there is an active censorship which is protecting consciousness much as an efficient private secretary protects the General Manager from callers who would disturb him or waste his time and energy. If we think of an idea *as a perception plus its first associations,* then we can see clearly the action of this Censor as the idea arrives at the door. It will be to stop all the associations that would be dis-

turbing or non-essential. That at least, if not always its action, will be its duty. All too often it is not working well and we say we are "not able to concentrate," or we are "not thinking clearly." If one considers all that the Conscious Censor has to do, one may easily excuse its not being hundred-per-cent efficient.

It is proper to inquire here what becomes of the material that is stopped at the door and refused admittance to consciousness. It has certainly been stimulated into activity, and most of it is easily accessible if it is wanted. The latter factor differentiates it clearly from the material which caused our patient's trouble. In his case both the memory, and the affects excited by the aroused memory, were buried deeply in the Unconscious and were anything but accessible. An intermediate field is suggested therefore, between the Unconscious and the Conscious, and for this has been used the term "Fore-conscious," or "Pre-conscious." The former name will serve our purpose perfectly. The associations, then, which are stopped by the Conscious Censor, are in the Fore-conscious; that is, they are within reach of the Conscious.

That the Fore-conscious is, besides, an affect-field (or wish-field) of the central station is also certain, since the great majority of our outbound responses to inbound perception stimuli are either conscious or may readily become so. The effort to change the stomach's environment, when the affect of hunger is

registered, is conscious. The rythmic drumming of feet or fingers when dance-music is heard, is conscious or soon becomes so. The answer to a call; the smile and extended hands when a child appeals to be taken; the stepping aside at the sound of a motor-horn—examples could be multiplied endlessly—all are at, or near, the Conscious level; hence are responses to Fore-conscious affects. But our patient's response of the rigid arm was certainly not at that level, or anywhere within reach of it except through patient, prolonged and skillfully directed effort. Yet it was surely a response to an affect, a true effort at adjustment, feeble and ineffective as it proved. So that behind the Fore-conscious there is yet another affect (or wish) field; that of the Unconscious. Its affects, or wish feelings, are stimulated by ideas. The ideas consist of perceptions plus their associations. In our patient's case there was a whole series of perceptions; touch when he boxed his son's ears, seeing the child's avertive movements, hearing its cries, seeing and hearing his wife's reproaches. These, with many added associations which were aroused, came through to the Fore-conscious and were allowed access to the Conscious. Assuredly they produced affects in the Fore-conscious, but these as we know were not sufficient to prevent the man's retiring for the night in his usual health. The important point for us is that *somewhere en route these perceptions picked up an association which stimulated an affect* (or more properly a group of affects) *the response*

to which, to say nothing of the Conscious, was not allowed entrance even to the Fore-conscious. An *additional* censorship is established, therefore, *between the Unconscious and the Fore-conscious.*

Without it we shall soon see that there would be no such thing as a civilized human being. The first step will be to analyze the group of affects aroused in our patient's Unconscious, and thus find out what an Unconscious consists of.

A baby is a primitive being. It has perceptions, which produce affects or wish feelings, but it has neither morals nor manners. Its sole concern is to obtain gratification for the wish feelings; procurement of what is agreeable and change of the disagreeable. This direct, primitive, unmoral, wholly self-seeking attitude toward life persists for some time and its manifestations are repressed only by the incessant training, precept and example of others. The affects are primitive and uncensored; the responses (efforts at procurement or avoidance) are likewise. At the time when his little brother was born our patient was about two years old. Except for the father, he had been in sole possession of his mother's attention and affection. At the primitive level all affection is in terms of possession. He had cared for her to the extent that she was his. With the appearance of the baby and the mother's transfer of attention, he felt that she was his no longer. He had lost her. His love-feeling became conditioned with deprivation, jealousy, anger, sense of loss, re-

sentment, protest, hatred of another, frustration, and a feeling of helplessness.

No possible response was adequate to produce the desired change of environment. The emotional affects had such intensity as to compel some sort of action, and at times were strong enough to overcome the fear of the mother's anger and punishment, but on every such occasion the punishment was sure to follow, and with it came the sense of guilt. The nature of the entire series of affects was primitive. What their every response (effort at adjustment) encountered was cultural training—the will of the group. The latter was the stronger. There could be very little compromise. The primitive had to be repressed. This conflict of the primitive with the cultural is the important part of the mental history of all children during the first five or six years of life. The elements of the conflict vary with the circumstances of the individual, but always the conflict is the critical fact of life. *We should not overlook the fact that affect images and response-models are being formed during this period which will powerfully influence responses to affects in later life.*

Our patient's response to the complicated affects of the mating urge was eventually to marry a woman whose personality in many respects resembled that of his mother. The net result was to recreate something resembling the unsquared situation of early childhood, and the end product was near disaster. The childhood series of affects then, with all their un-

fulfilled wish-feelings, had persisted for twenty-eight years and had retained the possibility of becoming fully energized. They certainly were not in the Fore-conscious, or the Conscious would have become aware of them many times. Moreover, if they had remained in the Fore-conscious, the conflict would have so occupied the patient's childhood as to produce a neurosis and a complete breakdown of education and adjustment to life. It is equally certain that they were not voluntarily suppressed. They encountered superior force. They could not have expression. Their pain was completely upsetting to daily progress. They had to be more than suppressed: they had to be repressed. And so into the deep Unconscious they were forced, behind the barrier of the primary censorship; along with all the other primitive affects, impulses, wish-feelings, which were denied expression by the will of the group—cultural training.

The material of which the Unconscious consists, then, and the function of the censorship between Unconscious and Fore-conscious, is clear enough. The Unconscious has all of the affects, impulses, wish-feelings and images of the instinctive primitive. These are held in repression by a cultural censorship. When stimulated they are capable of carrying, doubtless because of their primitive nature, a high energy charge. Analysis will show that they are being incessantly stimulated. Our experiments in association show that it cannot be otherwise, for starting from the

stimulus of a single word the widening ripples can sooner or later reach the very shores of our memory-experience.

What becomes of the energy? A study of Freud's work on the *Psychopathology of Every Day Life* shows that some of it finds its way out in symbolic acts. No motion of the body is meaningless. If it has not a conscious purpose it is surely a response to an unconscious affect. The same is true of day-dream or phantasy. Some affect, some feeling, denied its immediate direct expression, is making use of a symbol. I may be thinking of a problem in psychoanalysis, and suddenly observe that my fingers have been lightly drumming a rythm on the table. Allowing the associations to become apparent, I think of a fox-trot, of many dances, of one in the moonlight out of doors, and then of a description I have read of the orgic dances of the Marquesans. The associations need not be pursued farther to discover that we are back near the primitive Unconscious. In the book mentioned, Freud also shows that the inevitable conflict between these Unconscious wish-feelings and the Censor is often revealed by little symbolic acts such as slips of speech, and errors in writing familiar words. To be sure, such symbolic acts are also used to give expression to wishes which are not repressed in the Unconscious but merely suppressed in the Fore-conscious; but any adequate discussion of this division of the subject would require much more space than can be allotted to it here.

It is necessary for our purpose only to point out the mechanism. The important factor is the amount of energy that is used in maintaining the repression and suppression of these affects. Every function uses energy, therefore the two Censors use it; and the amount of energy required must vary as the intensity of the affects which are to be repressed. An emotionally-toned affect is obviously of higher intensity than one which is not charged with any emotion. Practically all of the repressed primitive wish-feelings of childhood are emotionally toned. Hence if any such affect or group of affects goes into repression without having been adequately adjusted, it will, whenever excited, require a large use of energy by the Censor to keep it repressed. As there is only a certain amount of energy available in any central station, we may now see, in part at least, why people often are unable to accomplish in practical life anything like what their ability would seem to warrant. We shall examine this further in a later section.

Reference has been made to the fact that the *secondary* Censor, at the portal of consciousness, was protecting the Conscious, both to keep painful ideas in the background and to keep the stream of thought clear. The *primary* Censor between Unconscious and Fore-conscious is also protective. But in the struggle of this primary Censor to keep back an Unconscious wish which is striving to break through, we see something which may properly be called "conflict." It is the battle between the Un-

conscious—primitive, unmoral, wholly self-seeking; and the Fore-conscious—cultural, moral, and coöperative in terms of the civilized group. This struggle, and the compromises which it produces, form the basis of our psychology. A thorough understanding of it provides complete answers to many of the riddles of human conduct.

In a preceding paragraph, mention was made of the fact that the primitive wish-feelings and repressed affects in the Unconscious are being frequently stimulated by various ideas in the course of the day, and that a part of the energy finds outlet in symbolic acts. Much the highest type of these and obviously the most valuable, is seen in the mechanism called *sublimation.* This is the conversion of the *primitive* wish into a *cultural* one which *symbolizes the primitive but is acceptable to both Censors.* A very properly repressed childish impulse to kill may later find highly useful expression in the trade of the killer and dresser of meat. A child who successfully represses a precocious procreative impulse may later become a most valuable creative writer. The great actor may be sublimating a primitive hero-wish of earliest childhood. Examples could be multiplied without number. In this mechanism a law of compensation is also at work, but that will be elaborated, with its application, in the chapter on glands of internal secretion.

Finally, the third important energy outlet, for both the repressed and the suppressed wish-feelings,

is in the dream. A whole volume would be required to discuss adequately the mechanisms of dreams. To those who wish to give it the requisite hard study, supplemented by necessary experiment, I recommend a year of work in this field as likely to be both fascinating and valuable. But at present I propose to deal only with such points as are necessary to show the energy outlet. Study and analysis of dreams through several years have convinced me that Freud's theories of the dream are correct. The *exciters* of the dream may be of three sorts: 1. Ordinary perceptive stimuli, such as touch, taste, scent, sound, varying intensity of light falling on the eyelids, or an internal state. 2. Undischarged affects aroused by ideas in the Fore-conscious: 3. Undischarged affects aroused in the Unconscious.

Always, directly or indirectly (sometimes so concealed as to appear to do exactly the opposite), the dream represents the fulfillment of one or more wish-feelings. Either straightforwardly, or in symbolic phantasy, it creates an adequate response to an affect or group of affects. In so doing it discharges affect energy. Usually it is censored, but by no means always. There is no apparent censorship when a child, in response to its stomach's perception of the unsatisfactory environment of hunger, in the early morning hours, dreams of eating. But in an elaborate and apparently meaningless dream there is censorship of a high degree. The affects have had to make use of symbols, sometimes condensing a

whole group of emotions in a single momentary phase of the drama. I have often called these symbols the "building blocks" of the dream. An illustration will suffice to show that even in waking life a single tiny symbol may stand for a large group of affects and ideas.

Suppose that a woman has motored with a friend to a place from which, at the top of a high hill, there is a beautiful sunset view. During a half hour there she may have seen and enjoyed all the details of a wonderful panorama of lake and woods and changing sky. Associations form of many other beautiful places she has seen. If the friend she is with happens to be a man with whom she is in love, there may be many emotional exchanges of thought, or caress, or both.

When returning to the motor she plucks a flower from a wild vine, and on arriving home presses the flower in a book as a souvenir. Years after, coming upon that flower between the pages of the book she may fall into a reverie in which the whole episode is recreated and lived over again, with all its ideas and affects in full play—the latter getting much satisfaction from the phantasy. Thus the simple flower may stand as a symbol for a most complex group of perceptions, ideas, affects, responses, and gratifications. So in the dream, the simplest fragment of phase or phrase, if used in the same way that we used the stimulus-word "black" in our association

experiment, will often reproduce many pages of affects and ideas.

With one other item, the memory, we shall have all the elements of our apparatus complete, and may construct our working diagram of the central station—the psycho-physical mental apparatus of a human being. Broadly speaking, the memory is an accumulation of the entire experiences of the individual, added to instinct-traces, and certain shadowy hints (which appear sometimes under hypnosis, and also in psychoanalytic experiment) of pre-natal impressions. Its material is subject to all sorts of perception stimuli, and is accessible to both the Unconscious and the Fore-conscious affect (or wish) fields. In the opinion of most psychoanalysts, no significant impression is ever lost from the memory beyond the possibility of recall by association or other means.

We are now ready for our diagram (next page).

THE APPARATUS

It may be quite unnecessary to state again at this point that our diagram is in no sense anatomical, yet I feel that it is perhaps wise to emphasize it and to suggest the reason why I have not thought best to discuss at any length the anatomy of the brain and of the nervous system. For one thing comparatively little is as yet accurately known about the *location* of the various functionings of the brain. But more important is the fact that a concept is most

CONSCIOUS
FORE CONSCIOUS.
UNCONSCIOUS
MEMORY
UNCONSCIOUS AFFECT-(WISH) FIELD
FORECONSCIOUS AFFECT-(WISH)FIELD
SIGHT
SOUND
TOUCH
SCENT
TASTE
INTERNAL PERCEPTIONS
INWARD-BOUND PERCEPTIVE NERVES

DURING WAKING HOURS

In this graph any perception is represented as entering at the lower left-hand corner, and going through to consciousness at the right. En route, if the perception is strong enough, the following things happen: It registers in memory, where it also picks up other associations; an affect (wish-feeling), agreeable or disagreeable, may be aroused in the Unconscious, in which case the primary censorship (c'–c'–c') comes into play; a further affect may be aroused in the Fore-conscious, by such material as the c' censorship allows to pass; the secondary censorship (c^2) tends to stop whatever remaining associations would disturb the conscious.

DURING SLEEP

As conscious attention is surrendered in sleep, the energy-stream may be conceived as turning back on itself so that Fore-conscious and Unconscious *flow together* as it were. Dreams are made of ideas and affects which are active in both.

clear when least cluttered; and from analysis of our hysteria case, added to the brief study which we have made of perception-stimulus, affect and response, we shall get a clear concept of the mental mechanisms essential to the later practical applications. Whether an affect-field, or a group of memory traces, or any other functioning field, is located in one spot—cortical, intermediate or central—is not material to our purpose. We are concerned only with what happens, and the relation of the various happenings to each other; not with their exact location.

The diagram, then, is not anatomical but graphic.

At the lower left-hand corner are indicated inward-bound paths of perception of the various types. From experiments in association we can readily see that any perception stimulates some memory-trace, either instinctive or acquired, and that this memory-trace has associative connection with others, which in turn link up with still more, in an apparently endless chain. In the ordinary course of the day's life there is neither sufficient time nor energy allotted to any single perception, of the continuous stream, for any long chain of associations to form. The greater number of the perceptions are being handled almost automatically. Each one picks up its association, and the idea thus formed excites an affect, but the average intensity is so low that little or no active response is required. In this case the expenditure of energy in censorship is slight; practically negli-

gible. The sight of any single tree in a forest, will, if given time, bring its associations forward into consciousness, and these in passing through the two affect-fields will excite wish-feelings which are easily perceived on analysis; but both time and energy must be allotted.

Suppose, however, the perception is of such a nature that it stimulates a memory trace to which *originally* there was attached a strong affect, either Unconscious or Fore-conscious, or both. The idea thus formed will have the capacity to excite the original affect—an affect of high intensity. If this affect is of the primitive Unconscious, it will be the business of the *primary* cultural censorship to stop the forbidden associations from entering the Fore-conscious. Our patient's case is an example of this.

If the principal affect excited is not in the Unconscious but in the Fore-conscious, it may be such that even though not forbidden by the cultural standards of the individual it would nevertheless be very disturbing to the work with which the Conscious is occupied. In this case, the associations must be stopped by the *secondary* Censor, which is protecting the Conscious from confusion and splitting of attention. For example, the sight of a golf-ball may be sufficient to stimulate a keen affect associated with a coming match; yet the Censor can instantly intervene if consciousness is busy, and prevent any awareness of the affect.

Sometimes it happens that the energy of the stimu-

lated wish-feeling is greater than the energy at that moment available to either of the two Censors. An example is the affect of great anger, to which is made the active response of hot words or blows. The censorship may also be voluntarily relaxed, as in the case of phantasy or day-dream of forbidden acts. It is worth noting here that this may be the psychological motive behind drunkenness, since the effect of alcohol is to lower tonicity of the Censors and give conscious expression to otherwise highly censored words and deeds. Again, the strength of an Unconscious affect may carry it past the primary Censor into the Fore-conscious where it arouses an affect directly contrary. For example, in a very religious person some perception may have aroused a primitive feeling of murderous hate, so strong that it passes the first Censor. In this individual the response model established for such an affect has been, let us say, recourse to prayer and acts of devotion, the dominant Fore-conscious wish being an exemplary Christian life. The secondary Censor is able to protect the Conscious, but in the near background is an *acute conflict* between a primitive and a cultural wish-feeling. The visible response may be a week of much prayer and most active charitable work; in which we get a glimpse of one feature of the Law of Compensation to be discussed later. Such a conflict, with the unremitting censorship necessary to keep it back from disturbing the Conscious, is using a great deal of energy.

Would it not, we may properly ask, be better to let it through to consciousness, provided that it could there be adequately dealt with and dismissed? That is precisely what psychoanalysis aims at; bringing the conflicts to the surface, admitting them to adult critique, giving them adequate emotional discharge through discussion, and finally establishing for the primitive affects new *adult* models of response in place of the ineffective childish ones. No doubt many will say that the response in the instance just cited is adequate, and, because of the charities, very useful. But what of our hysteria patient?

His arm became rigid during the night. We come then to what is happening in our apparatus during sleep. The affects, both Unconscious and Fore-conscious, excited by the events of the evening, have been considered before. We know the perceptions which were their origins. We know the chain of associated ideas that was stimulated by these perceptions. We know that the secondary Censor was strong enough to keep all of the really significant material out of consciousness. But the group of affects excited in the Unconscious was of very great intensity. It had never been squared or adjusted in any way. To some extent it must have forced its way past the primary Censor and excited opposite wish feelings in the Fore-conscious, for there is evidence of conflict.

The man went to sleep, i.e., he relaxed his attention until outward consciousness of the world was

gone. The energic stream continued, as it must until life ceases. But in a sense it had to reverse and flow backward. The external stimuli were partially (*"partially"* needs emphasis, because it is obvious that external stimuli of *sufficient intensity* will continue to produce affects even during sleep) replaced by *ideational* stimuli. The undischarged ideas of the day, often with associated ideas of many days before, seem to me from much analysis of dreams, to be the most active stimuli during sleep. The group of ideas, *so far as the patient could recollect* had not produced any dream. This failure to remember dreams, or to remember having dreamed at all, is very common. One is constantly encountering people who assert that they rarely, if ever, dream. Observation convinces an analyst that they are mistaken. It is simply that the censorship is strong enough to prevent the dreams from coming into consciousness. Considering the number of thoughts which flit through the mind during the day, and for which we have afterward absolutely no conscious memory, the failure of recollection is far from conclusive. The apparatus is alive. Ideational stimuli are present and must excite wish-feelings. In one way or another, directly or in symbol, in physical act or in phantasy, these must form responses. That some of these responses do not get into consciousness does not mean that the mechanism has stopped.

The affects stimulated by the undischarged ideas in the mind of our sleeping patient were manifold;

but they divide readily into two groups. Culturally he wished to be a regular citizen of the world, the husband of his wife, and the father of his child. These wishes are adult, forward-looking, progressive. Primitively (an infantile status, from the civilized point of view) he wished for the childhood situation again; first, because it would bring back the image of his earliest love-ideal; second, because it would restore his little brother to life and remove his sense of guilt; third, because there would again be opportunity for savage combat over a woman—one of the strongest primitive root-trends, reinforced in our patient because connected with his earliest emotional image; fourth, because there would be reconstituted a chance to "do differently," to work out some response to the situation which would avoid the unbearable sense of *defeat*. In contrast to his cultural desires, this group of wishes is infantile, backward looking, regressive.

Both the conflict and the energy load are clear. If the latter had not been so intense there might have been a sufficient response in the formation of dreams; which would probably have been of a most disturbing sort. The dream serves to give the Unconscious its opportunity to say its say; to express itself directly if the censorship is low, otherwise to build its castle or construct its drama from the symbols supplied by fragments of ideas. Fortunately, very fortunately, for us all, a way has been discov-

ered and is being experimentally perfected, by which, the conflicts removed, the Unconscious may be led to work in harmony with the main wish-purposes of the Fore-conscious and thus produce results of incalculable value.

The intensity of our patient's affects, and of the conflict, demanded an outlet beyond the measure of the dream. Suppressed from the Conscious they could not be discharged there. They were forced to follow the model that had been most deeply impressed—the episode of his own physical punishment. There was a strong reinforcing association for this; the number 7, which appeared in the case so significantly—a sacred number, associated with atonement—the seven days of the punishment—the seventh birthday of the younger brother—the age of the son whom the patient himself had punished in the evening.

It should not be overlooked that in thus punishing himself in response to his wife's reproaches, he strongly identified the wife with his mother, thus as it were providing a symbol for the constant presence of the mother, his earliest love-image, *whom he now could regard as his own.*

The cure of the symptom resulted from the material being brought forward into consciousness and given adequate discharge; supplying, in other words, a sufficient adult mental response. There was no further need for the physical response. The infantile model of effort at adjustment could be aban-

doned in favor of an intelligent "grown up" one in the form of discussion and logical reasoning.

But two points remain for immediate consideration:

1. *Voluntary thought* may be seen in our apparatus as a *Fore-conscious wish making use of the ideas available to it, as stimuli to the memory traces* —thus producing additional associations, turning them over in new combinations, deductions, etc.

2. The case of conversion hysteria reveals the fact that *the Unconscious has access to, and can control, nerves and muscles independently of consciousness.* Further, that *there is little or no fatigue at the points of control when the control is being exercised by the Unconscious.* The tremendous importance of this will be apparent when we discuss the methods by which the Unconscious may be set at work.

CHAPTER III

LIBIDO AND THE DOMINANT WISH

WE saw, both in the Unconscious and the Foreconscious divisions of our apparatus, an affect field where wish-feelings can be, and almost constantly are being, stimulated; with the resulting tendency to seek gratification either by changing, or getting more of, an environment. By whatever method, or in whatever direction, the responses are made, the purpose of the efforts at adjustment is always to fulfill a wish or group of wishes. There is then at least one trend in a human being—indeed this appears to be true of all life—which is an unvarying constant. The basic principle of the life urge is compounded of the desire for gratification, and the effort to get it. For convenience in analysis, it is essential that this driving principle should have a name. A literal translation of the word "Libido" leaves something to be desired, but its use in the new psychology is coming to have very much the above meaning, or one closely allied, and "Libido" will be used throughout this book to express *that part of the life-force within us which is incessantly wishing and incessantly striving to achieve its wishes.* The process is going on during the hours

of sleeping as well as during the hours of waking, and the Libido is active at all three levels, Conscious, Fore-conscious and Unconscious.

In Fig. 1 of the diagrams which appear in this chapter, I have tried to express graphically the Libido of a baby at the age of six months. The lines radiating equally in all directions show that

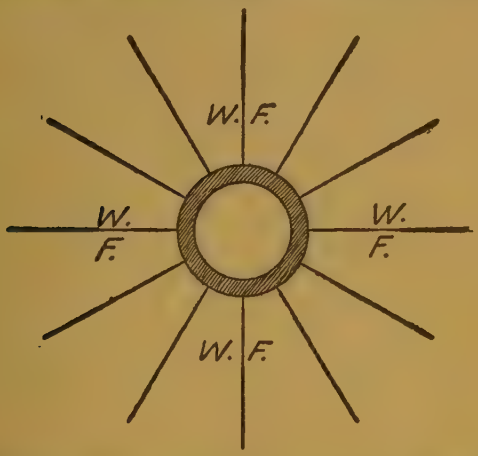


FIG. 11.—LIBIDO OF AN INFANT. The wish-feelings (W. F.) are freely expressed in all directions without censorship. (See text.)

there is absolute freedom of affect and response. The infant wishes freely in any direction, without censorship. It has no inhibitions, no forbids, no morals, no "manners," no cultural sense whatever. It is in this respect a primitive, rudimentary savage. Its wish-tendencies *so far as we know,* are compara-

tively simple at this age. It is well to note the emphasized part of that sentence. Altogether too much has been taken for granted about the mental life of babies. It is a most promising and fertile field for study, particularly for those students who will take the trouble to learn the analytical technique necessary to a study of the Unconscious. One often hears such exclamations about a baby as, "Why—it looks so intelligent!—it looks as though it were actually thinking!" Of one thing we may be sure; whether it thinks or not, it certainly wishes, and tries in no uncertain measure to get what it wishes for. Moreover, it extends its receptors toward any and every gratification that comes within its range of experience. Comparatively little adjustment to environment is required because everybody is busy adjusting the environment to the baby. The little being is, in a very effective sense, monarch of all he surveys. Never after this period will he know such complete domination of his surroundings.

With the passing of time comes discipline; his uncensored behavior finds itself opposed by the will of the group. How entirely strange it must seem to him, at first, that he may no longer gratify his wishes until they have been passed by a critique! The affects are forming, from both internal and external stimuli, but his responses must now begin to encounter checks. From this point onward, through childhood, adolescence, and as long as life continues, he is to find his Libido in constant conflict with the

insistence of others that his responses shall conform to the customs and rules of the family and the herd. Compliance brings esteem, approval and affection. Defiance is followed by disapproval, anger, punishment and segregation. In Fig. 2 are expressed the effects of earliest forms of training and discipline. The shortened lines on the upper and lower sides are wish tendencies which conflict with the educational efforts of the parents and so are being sup-

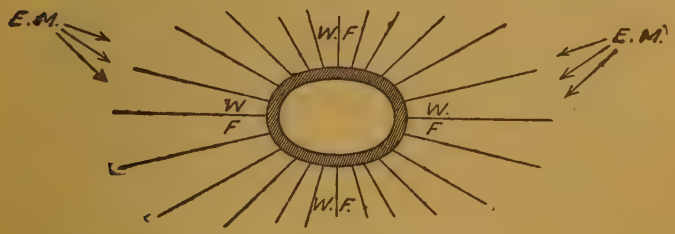


FIG. 2.—LIBIDO OF TWO-YEAR-OLD CHILD. Discipline is beginning to repress some wish-feelings (W. F.) and force adaptation to the social (cultural) groove. (See text.)

pressed, voluntarily or involuntarily, or both. The lines to the right represent the wish tendencies which are reaching out to the more and more clearly perceived objective world—the forward-looking wishes—and responses along this line are not only permitted but encouraged. The lines to the left are the backward-looking wishes; the longings which, in the Unconscious, and to some extent in the Fore-conscious, of the average human being, do not cease throughout life, for pleasures, relationships, condi-

tions and special privileges of the past. The letters "E.M." which appear in each diagram will be explained a little later in this section.

Fig. 3 shows us the growing child which is in process of fitting into its groove. The contacts with environment, having broadened from the family to the school and the younger social world, are now expressed by the wavy and uneven lines at the top and bottom. They show the active and unceasing

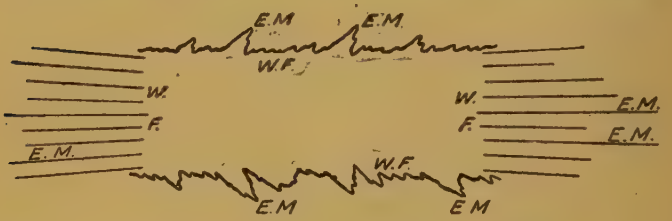


FIG. 3.—LIBIDO OF TEN-YEAR-OLD CHILD. Discipline and example have brought successful control of most of the non-cultural wish-feelings, as expressed in the wavy lines. At the right are expressed forward-looking wishes; at the left, those which are regressive. The energy-stream of the Libido is now principally flowing forward, to the right. (See text.)

conflict between the wishes of the individual and the will of the group; and the longer angles, jutting out here and there, express the sharp protests that occur from time to time, the violent thrusts against control and suppression. At the left are the lines of the backward-looking wishes, which during this period are usually most active at the Unconscious level and hence get little recognition in the Conscious. They

may, and in many children do, express themselves symbolically in the phantasy of day-dream.

The lines at the right denote the eager and intense affects and responses stimulated by observation of, and contact with, people, objects and events. The Libido energy is becoming more and more occupied with the fascinating possibilities of life as it is, less and less being wasted in conflict with the group. It is reaching out after a constantly more inclusive grip on the world of objective gratification, possession and esteem.

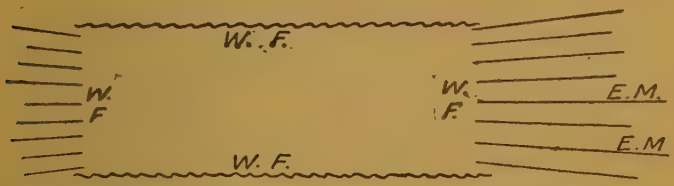


FIG. 4.—LIBIDO OF NORMAL ADULT. The non-cultural wishes are successfully repressed without sacrificing reasonable aggressiveness in social contact, as indicated by the lines above and below. The main lines of wish energy are forward-looking, with very little regressive trend. (See text.)

Symmetrical in its expression, it is not unnatural that we should find the Libido of a normal adult quite symmetrical in its form when shown by a diagram. The lines at the top and bottom of Fig. 4 represent a healthy, aggressive contact with the social group. The right is maintained to differ with the herd and to insist upon a reasonable degree of individual freedom of standards and conduct. (In the early days of the Puritan herd in New England

these lines would have had to indicate a greater degree of repression). The individual has not yielded his prerogative to differ with society, but he has reached effective adjustments. The main lines of the wish tendencies are all forward-looking, they are highly energized, and their expenditures of energy are well balanced. We may see in this, successful application to politics, business, mating, parenthood, sports, avocation, social pleasure and

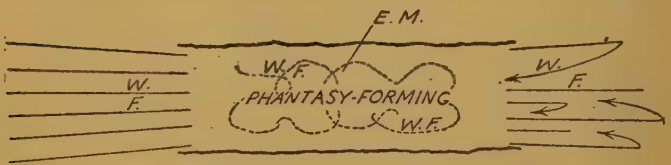


FIG. 5.—LIBIDO OF INTROVERT. The social contact is feeble, non-aggressive. The wish-feelings are mainly turned inward or backward, and seek satisfaction in phantasy or day-dream. (See text.) Note similarity of regressive wish lines (at the left) to those in Fig. 3. Regression is always towards a childish status.

public service. This type of person is for the most part wholly occupied in getting what he wants from the world; in which process he is frequently giving in exchange something of value to society. His primitive Unconscious is kept in successful repression or its wishes are being sublimated in useful forms of expression. His responses are chiefly in line with the affects of the cultural Fore-conscious. His interests may be varied or few; in either case he is able to apply a large percentage of his total

energies along the forward, objective paths of attainment. Hence very little of his gratification in life has to be obtained through inward phantasies or day-dreams.

In harmony with the purpose of this book, I do not intend to dwell on the abnormal, or failures of function; but there are two possibilities of the Libido which fall under those heads from which one may gather much that is of interest and practical value. In Fig. 5 I have shown the Libido of a highly introverted and unadjusted person. The lines at the top and bottom show the giving up of the aggressive contact with the herd. The lines at the right show how the forward-looking wishes have failed to be properly energized or to hold their energy. Recoiling from the struggle to objectify, the introvert's wish-force turns inward or backward. Gratification is sought *mainly* in phantasy, day-dream, or memories of the past. "Mainly" is emphasized because it must be clearly understood that the mere fact of day-dreaming or phantasy-forming does not mark one as an introvert or unadjusted to life. Many a day-dream has been the prelude to a great factory, a valuable invention, a brilliant novel, or an advance in politics. It is only when it is allowed to become a *substitute for action* that the day-dream needs radical attention.

Conflicts are invariably at the roots of introversion. The energy is not only being split between Unconscious and Fore-conscious affects, but the

former are sufficiently strong and persistent to maintain an active struggle for supremacy. There is not then enough energy available to the forward-looking wishes. Hence for the phantasy-making "creative" type one would wish not a change of temperament but a removal of conflicts.

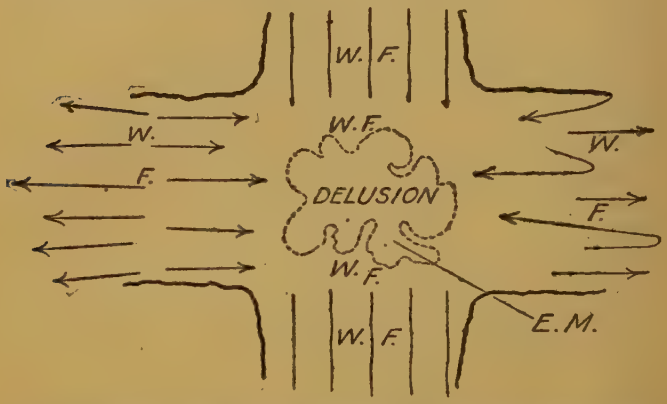


FIG. 6.—LIBIDO OF INSANE PERSON. The non-cultural wish-feelings here are shown as breaking all social bounds (above and below). The sum of all the wish-feelings is expressed in a mixture of trends both backward and forward, with delusion as a center. (See text.)

Fig. 6 shows how in some forms of insanity the Libido simply breaks through all the repressions of society. The process may be gradual and cumulative or sudden and extremely violent. In either case there is a rejection and defiance of the herd, as expressed by the lines at the top and bottom. The lines at the left and right show the mixed and con-

fused trends of both the forward-looking and the backward-looking strivings. The Libido of the insane person not only rejects and breaks through the restraints of the cultural, but also turns inward and creates a phantasy world of its own, wherein, either directly or by symbol (just as in the dream), it achieves its dominant wishes.

EGO MAXIMATION

The letters "E.M." appearing at various points on the foregoing diagrams refer to one of the most powerful impulses in the human personality—literally that of making the "I" greater. Under it may be grouped motives of possession, acquisition, display, aggrandizement; everything in fact which will increase the sense of self esteem and of dominating one's environment. It appears quite early in the activities of a baby, its first forms being independent of the esteem or approval of others. This latter element, the approval of others, begins strongly to condition it, however, as soon as the baby *achieves* something. The first tooth gets quite a demonstration from parents and friends of the family. The first tottering step gets even more admiration and approval. Two models are thus established which are of far-reaching importance. Indeed the experience of first standing upright and taking a few steps without falling is epochal. The difference between lying flat or creeping, and standing upright independently, must leave a very deep impression on

the infantile mind. A single act of achievement has produced an extraordinary advance in control of environment, hence in Ego Maximation, and this is strongly reinforced by the unstinted admiration of others.

From this time on, the impulse is constantly in evidence and learns to attain its ends in a multitude of ways. At three years, it is manifesting itself in all sorts of methods of winning attention and praise, as well as by the subtler path of conditioning its environment through the affection and efforts of others. At a later period of childhood, it has not only become highly complex but has developed specialization. In Fig. 3 the longest lines at the right may stand for brilliancy in some study, or ability in athletics or rapid advancement in learning to play the piano. It is also true that they may represent some trait of character, some element of personal charm, which the child early learned would serve its purpose. In children as young as two years we often see the coquetting effort to affect others through the child's own personality. I have seen a little girl of three who had quite mastered the fact that she could accomplish more in her particular environment with quickly assumed frown or smile than in any other way. And one need not go far to find uncountable numbers of young children whose first recourse is to cry for what they want. In a later section, I shall discuss this in its practical application.

We need not analyze the Ego Maximation of the late adolescent period except to point out that it has now become conditioned by the mating urge and therefore will add to the range of its expression. The normal adult has gradually acquired a nearly complete sublimation in useful channels; his self esteem and sense of power come from objective achievement. The Ego Maximation of the introvert finds what satisfaction it can in day-dream or memories of past achievements (or near-achievements). The insane person expresses it both by breaking the bonds of social control (making himself superior to society) and, sometimes, by creating a delusion of superiority.

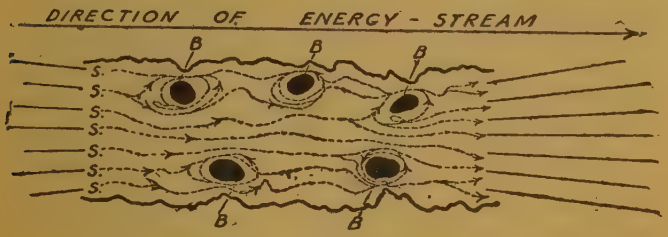
CONFLICTS

We have here a diagram which may help, in connection with the Libido diagrams, to give a graphic impression of the waste of energy by conflict between the Fore-conscious and some unsquared affects which have been buried in the Unconscious. From the preceding diagrams we have seen how the Libido of the child at two years encounters repressions through the will of the group. These repressions continue and multiply through all the succeeding years of early growth and training. For the most part, they are of minor importance in each separate instance, but in the aggregate they represent the entire process of repressing the primitive; the molding and fitting to family and social existence. What

we wish to examine, however, is not the common but the exceptional instance of repression. Reference has been previously made to the fact that an adult, because of acquired experience, is able readily to adjust and dismiss most of the clashes of his Libido with that of others; and to the fact that the child cannot do this. Very often its most intense wish-expression is met with sharp punishment. This inhibits action, but does not provide any adequate response *or any form of sublimation* for the wish-feeling. Careful explanation, or the provision of a substitute response-model might make adjustment easy, but both are usually lacking. There is simply repression by superior force. Now if that wish was motivated by the primitive it will not die. Some disposition has to be made of the emotional affect, the "hurt"; and accordingly the censorship labors to reject it from the Conscious. It is eventually buried in the Unconscious, and thus forgotten, but its memory-trace is not lost; and, if stimulated, the idea will surely excite the buried affect. Moreover, being a highly emotionalized affect which has never been squared, it takes, whenever excited, a high energy charge, and its demand for an outlet, an effective response, persists for some time.

Now if we consider the energy stream in our diagram as moving from left to right, we may express these forced repressions of emotional conflicts as boulders in the stream (B-B-B-B). Each one splits off from the main stream (S-S) a certain amount of

energy, and continues to do so, steadily. Energy is required again to censor the affect. Energy is absorbed again below the conscious level by the conflict between the Unconscious and the Fore-conscious wish purposes. This loss of energy entirely unknown to the Conscious is the cause of many ineffective lives. Psychoanalysis aims at bringing the



UNSQUARED CONFLICTS

In the case of conversion hysteria we saw that a series of perceptions stimulated acutely a long-buried, unsquared group of affects in the Unconscious. These were able to accumulate a great deal of energy. The above graph illustrates the splitting-off of energy from the main stream (*s–s–s–s*) by unrecognized conflicts which arise from undischarged, highly emotionalized affects of childhood. (See text.)

conflict to the surface and giving it complete discharge, once for all, thus releasing all the energy for effective application to practical life.

CONTROLLING AND OPERATING THE WILL

Reference has been made, in the introduction, to control and operation of the will. Because of its close connection with the Libido activities I think

it desirable to discuss it at some length here, rather than to reserve it for a later chapter.

Analysis of any act of will quickly leads to realization that it is always an effective response to an affect or wish-feeling. Kempf, in his studies of autonomic functions and the personality,* has emphasized this most strongly. He further points out that to will effectively is to "wish without restraint"; it is equivalent to saying, "I can do anything if I wish to hard enough." Naturally such an assertion on the part of the average human being is an exaggeration. Very few of us, if any at all, can actually accomplish all that we may "make up our minds to," no matter how strong the wish. No man or woman can control all the circumstances of an environment; and in the late war we have seen that even the collective will (wish) of a large and powerful group of people cannot always be wrought into success.

We shall have an excellent working concept of will if we think of it as an affect in consciousness which, if allowed to dominate the conduct, will direct the main activities toward a definite goal. To will is to wish *consciously*. To will effectively is to allot enough energy to a given wish so that it may control the conduct.

We saw in the study of Ego Maximation, that the wish trend has two main paths. One of these

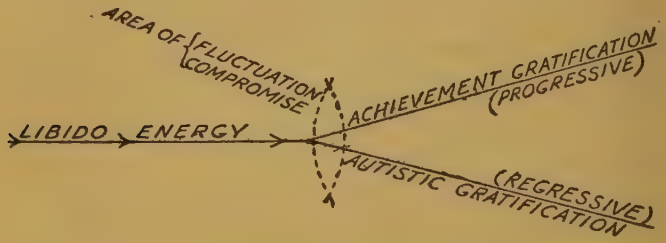
* *Autonomic Functions and the Personality,* by Dr. Edward J. Kempf. Nervous and Mental Disease Pub. Co., Washington, D. C.

is related solely to the primitive self. It leads only to self-gratification as an end in itself, without regard to any other goal. The other leads to gratification through achievement in line with the group, and winning the esteem and approval of others. The goal of the first is inward; the goal of the second outward. The first requires little effort at adjustment; the second requires prolonged and often arduous efforts. Moreover, the second requires a sacrifice of the first. So that the two paths of expression of the Libido must be forever leading in different directions, the two trends forever at war. In the splitting apart of the paths there is inevitably a splitting of energy; which gives us again the view of conflict, but from another angle. If (for the sake of a figure) we say that the mental energy of a given individual is equal to ten horsepower, and consider that four horsepower may be used up in conflict and compromise between the two trends, then only six horsepower is available for achievement.

Controlling the will to the highest practical purpose, therefore, involves *directing the wish energy*. The two paths may be graphically expressed in the form of a "Y" laid down on its side with the two arms branching toward the right. (This is in harmony with all of the preceding diagrams, in which the energy is represented as flowing from left to right.)

In this diagram, the staff of the "Y" stands for

the stream of Libido Energy; the upper branch stands for the path of Achievement Gratification; the lower for Autistic Gratification. The term "Autistic" is not wholly adequate, but it will serve in differentiating the two types. Obviously, it is desirable that most of the energy should flow over the upper path, but it is within the experience of all of us that the *inherent* tendency is for it to follow the lower one. Not only is that the *easier* way, but in a large sense it is the *natural* way. A human



OPERATION OF THE WILL

(See text.)

organism is not, by nature, cultural, moral, ethical, civilized, or hard working. Notwithstanding the objections of those who still adhere to the doctrine of "original sin," the overwhelming weight of evidence points to the fact that the nature of an individual is neither "good" nor "bad," but simply that of an adaptive mechanism reacting to environment in its search for satisfaction and security. This does not deny the existence of a Supreme Being, or the

possibility of inspiration from an extra-human source. Quite the contrary. The acceptance of a religion is a perfectly definite response toward satisfaction and security. I allow myself to digress to this extent from outlining the will mechanism because experience in analytical work has shown me that it is of the utmost importance to the welfare and progress of many people that their basis of critique for themselves should be changed. They will make little progress toward self-understanding or realization of, and release from, the real cause of their conflicts, as long as they ascribe the entire trouble to a personal devil or to an inherent wickedness of mankind.

Returning to the diagram, it is possible to see in the case of a man who thinks he wishes to stop smoking, but does not stop, all of the effects at work. The gratification from smoking is autistic. It has no relation to achievement or progress. Its effect is partly stimulating and partly soothing, and many observations suggest that there is a slight lowering of the censorship. Its persistence and growth of fixation as a habit perhaps indicate that smoking gratifies, in symbol at least, deeply implanted affect images of the Unconscious. From the earliest experiments with tobacco the man has registered warnings of all sorts as to its effects and its menace to health and longevity. He has not accepted these because from earliest childhood his eyes have told him that innumerable people were smok-

ing without visibly losing either life or health because of it. Yet the result of the warnings has been to fix an association of fear, and later knowledge and experience confirm the idea of possible harm. Hence from time to time will occur the idea of stopping.

We will assume, however, for the purposes of illustration, that the man does not stop. On the one hand is the wish to get the easy gratification and to still the discomfort of the unsatisfied wish cravings. This is the lower path. The upper path, on the other hand, is calling strongly for achievement, avoidance of physical depreciation and making the body more efficient for progressive attainment. The resulting situation is again the familiar one of a splitting of energy and its expenditure in conflict. Back and forth at the junction of the paths flows the wish-energy, now on one and now on the other. The consumption of tobacco is cut down, and this may finally be accepted by the Conscious as a compromise for the sense of defeat and weakness engendered from the achievement failure. But in the very first failure, and in every succeeding failure of such conflicts, *there is established a response-model which gradually acquires the force of a habit.* The tendency becomes stronger and stronger to compromise, in favor of the lower path.

What is to be done? First, there should be a searching and honest analysis of every important instance of wavering resolution. The opposed

wishes should be examined by association until all of their elements are revealed. This will sometimes lead to surprising discoveries. So much the better. Knowledge is the first step toward resolving a conflict. Second, there should be a summing up of the difficulties. Habit, the deeply grooved response-model of the past, will be one. Intensity of the autistic wish, which is to be sacrificed, may be another. Still another is sure to be a group of fears, dimly realized or not realized at all. Uppermost among these will be found two which are most paralyzing to achievement action. There is the fear that the gratification to come from the achievement will not actually equal the gratification of the lower path. This is seldom in consciousness, yet assuredly it is a factor in the situation. And then there is the fear of defeat—the achievement goal may be a long way in the future; it may require most arduous work, and steady sacrifice of autistic gratification along the entire route. Suppose that at the end one fails of the goal and the sacrifice has all been in vain? This fear of defeat—of having sacrificed all pleasures of indulgence and then not getting the achievement wish—is, I believe, one of the most paralyzing factors in operating the will.

The first thing to do, after analysis of the particular situation, is to strengthen the achievement wish. A very useful practice is to make a tabulation, setting down in one column all the autistic wishes which are to be denied response, and, in the other, all possible

achievement benefits. *This tabulation, with a review of the analysis, should be kept at hand and frequently gone over.* The imagination should be directed specifically upon the desired achievement at every opportunity; not upon the process toward the goal so much as upon the goal as definitely settled and surely attainable. One should make no mental reservation for defeat, such as, "If I am defeated, I shall at least have had the glory of trying." The only provision necessary for defeat is, "Whenever I am defeated, I shall always hit the line harder next time." All this calls for courage; but more than that it calls for intelligence.

The principles, then, are:

1. Recognition of the trends.
2. Analysis of the individual situation.
3. Frequent review of the elements.
4. Strengthening the achievement wish by intelligently directed imagination.

The by-product, it happens, is as valuable as any achievement, for *every instance of resolving an irresolution by sending the energy over the upper path has formed a new response-model and helped to fill in the groove of an old autistic one.* Practice increases facility of performance—a well-nigh invariable law.

CHAPTER IV

THE ENDOCRINE GLANDS, COMPENSATION STRIVING, AND FALSE GOALS

WHAT is the goal of the individual? In all psychology this seems to me the most difficult question to answer so that one has a satisfactory mental picture. The temptation, naturally, is to fall back on a formula; to say that the goal is attainment of gratification for the Libido. But this will not serve. Like many another formula it merely substitutes an idea for an image. From a group of young men one gets such replies as, "I want to make money," "I want to succeed," "I want to travel, see the world, and settle down," "I'd like to teach," "I want to learn a business and grow with it," "Whatever I do, I want to be my own boss," "Get a good job and stick to it, is my motto," or "I want to make a name in the world,"—with more rarely the highly matured, "I want to marry and have a family." For the most part, this latter concretion is well beneath the surface and when made the subject of specific question seems to be regarded rather as a chief by-product. No doubt the comparative freedom allotted to men under the dual moral standard has something to do with this. It tends to give a sense of security to one of the strong wish urges. In the highly censored re-

ligious community of the America of an older day, there was a much earlier dominance of the marriage idea in the minds of young men. Another reason for the present lead of the economic over the mating urge is threefold; the increasing intensity of economic competition, the higher standard for economic success, and the actual difficulty of supporting a family in reasonable comfort.

Among young women the predominant reply is "I want to marry." Fewer and fewer will add, "I want children," but this factor still remains very prominent in answers from the healthiest and most normal types. A considerable percentage, even of those who have not had higher education, either puts some other ambition first or qualifies the marriage wish with, "I'd like to be independent." Of interest is the fact that among girls of the preparatory schools (I have had reasonably accurate observations from both teachers and pupils) the dominance of the marriage idea is not measured by a sense of economic need. It arises partly from a wish to be free from the control of home and school, but more than anything else I believe that woman's earlier psychological maturity is responsible. I cannot speak for the biological side, but psychologically the average woman of twenty-five is as mature as the average man of thirty-five or forty; and it would not be far from the fact to say that the psychology of both at those respective ages is as mature as it is ever going to be—in this life at any rate.

Strangely enough (strange at least until one has considered the hidden mechanism at work) much patience and persistence are required to obtain the answer which is in the background always; "I want to be happy." This then is the true goal. Here again the earlier maturity of the female is in evidence. Analytically, she is earlier ready to face issues within herself. To admit that one seeks happiness is, to be sure, not a severe demand upon the natural reserves, but it is an admission much more readily obtained from a young woman of nineteen than from a young man of the same age.

Happiness is conditioned first upon personal peace. Unless the entire organism is integrating and functioning harmoniously, with the fundamental sense of well-being which accompanies that state, there can be nothing better than enjoyment—and enjoyment is not happiness; it is at best but a palliative. Objection may be made to the statement that happiness is the true goal, on the ground that a human being reaches the highest plane of development only when serving others. But if service does not lead to happiness of others, and moreover if one is not happy one's self in service, then there is something wrong either with the form or spirit of the service.

Inward content is essential to the goal. This is equivalent to saying that some can never possibly reach the goal, since either physical infirmities or force of circumstances often make content impossible. But to grant that 100 per cent is unattainable

in the world does not release us from the need or value of a definite standard as a constructive end. Nearly all of us may procure at least a measure of the power-and-poise sense, the dynamics, of physical and psychological harmony.

It is necessary first to distinguish true goal from false goal. Not long ago there died in the United States a man who had acquired everything that is commonly thought of as constituting happiness; huge fortune, satisfactory family relations, successful children, comfortable homes in the city and country, a record of valuable public service, a large group of friends. He died, as for many years he had lived, disappointed and unhappy. Those who knew him best say that for thirty years he devoted all of his great energy to the goal of acquisition. He acquired much. But en route he lost two things. One, the lesser in importance, was the ability to relax, either for rest or play. The other was the ability to love anything which he could not claim as his own. To my mind the pitiful thing is that he went down to his grave without having found out the cause of his disappointment. He could not pass on the lesson to others.

Nearly every one of us, to greater or less degree, is pursuing one or more, usually more, false goals. Either religion, or philosophy, or simple common sense, might lead us to that conclusion. And each of the three might point out a way to rectify matters. But unfortunately no one of the three can rid us of

the fundamental unconscious conflicts that cause the faulty distribution of energy. They can only suggest a needed repression and offer a substitute for the repressed wish; the net result being neither the best in religion, ethics, nor sensible living.

The true goal, happiness based on a complete and enduring sense of well-being, may be synthetized from the preceding chapters as follows:

1. Successful repression, in the deep Unconscious, of the abandoned infantile-primitive affects and response-models of early childhood. Among these, for example, will be such as possession, rivalry, jealousy, submission, or domination, as an association with love; possible mixed feeling of love-and-hate for anyone; fixation on a parent or older brother or sister as the model for future loves (such fixation results later in the conflict with the biological urge to choose a mate widely differentiated from one's own family, sometimes making permanent love or marriage well-nigh impossible). By successful repression is meant a repression that is thorough, permanent, and not requiring great censoring energy.

2. Successful development, in the Fore-conscious, of a clearly perceived, well-rounded group of ambitious purposes toward life.

3. Elimination of any unsquared conflicts by bringing them to the surface, submitting them to intelligent examination, and thus releasing their energy.

4. Understanding and directing the wish-force (will).

5. Choosing sublimation channels that provide pleasure in work.

To these might shortly be added; comprehending the nature, reason for, and significance of, the false goals.

As to the *nature* of the latter, a false goal invariably represents the expenditure of energy a *part of which belongs to another channel.* The man who exaggerated his acquisitive striving had to subtract from something else. The weak-minded courtesan, who puts luxury and ease before honor and reputation, has misplaced the energy of mating and homemaking. The politician who sacrifices principles to success, assuredly has closed some of the finest energy paths within himself. The man who in his marriage has unconsciously sought a mother more than a wife, must, in the process, have abandoned a more progressive mating goal. The artist who yields everything else to art has denied energy to many paths. Sailors yield the social and domestic wishes to love of the sea. The individual who makes friends only with others of the same sex is frustrating biological purposes as well as substituting a regressive group contact for an aggressive one.

These few examples will serve to suggest many others. The world sometimes profits by the individual's concentration on a false goal. The individual, even, may profit, because the false goal may represent the only satisfactory compromise of an otherwise intolerable conflict; but the false goal re-

mains a partial frustration of the psycho-physical organism. This fact must be recognized. It does not imply a reproach. The student of analytical psychology soon faces the conclusion that reproaches are perhaps the most pointless things in all human critique.

For every action there is a reason. Effective change of action calls for first understanding the reason. In discussing the *reason* for the false goals, I shall include the *significance* of them, for the two properly go together. The roots may be psychical, or physical or both. In preceding chapters, we have seen some of the possibilities of conflicts in the psychic stream and I have endeavored to make clear the origin of the conflicts when those origins were psychological. The persistence (through unsuccessful repression) of an over-energized primitive affect, with an immature, ineffective, early childhood response model, is quite sufficient to misdirect the adult wish-energy. Our hysteria patient was an extreme example of this. The man who has had a domineering father, and who in turn seeks to dominate his entire household, is a more common exemplification of the principle. The young woman who seeks always the society of women much older than herself is warping her social conduct to gratify a persisting infantile wish for a world consisting of self and mother. But there are many false-goal strivings which are not at all, or only partially, explained by this mechanism. Another young woman, whose conduct exactly paral-

lels that of the one just referred to, may point out that until she grew up she had not only never been particularly fond of her mother, but had in fact treated the mother rather badly. In this case we have a compound reason for the false goal. Recreating the childhood image of herself and a woman much her senior, not only serves as a symbol for a period which held strongly emotionalized affects—perhaps unsquared, hence seeking expression—but also in the devoted friendship now shown to the older person *she is compensating for an unconscious feeling of reproach over not having given the mother that affection which she has been taught was due a parent.*

This latter mechanism, compensation, we shall find to be the most important of all factors in the false-goal striving. Sometimes, as in the foregoing instance, mainly psychical in origin and expression, it is nevertheless, in the opinion of many authorities, rarely without a physical element at its root. Indeed Dr. Alfred Adler of Vienna, if one may judge from his published works on the neuroses, would appear to regard the physical factor not only as invariably present, but actually indispensable to the formation of a fictive goal. This seems to me an extreme view. However, the physical roots are of such importance that a brief study of them will be of constructive value.

If a boy is so unfortunate as to lose the use of a leg, either as the result of disease or by actual ampu-

tation, there will be a partial compensation through the greater development of the other leg. We can hardly think of this as resulting from a greater amount of nourishment being available for the remaining leg, since if that were the case the removal of all four limbs would surely produce a gigantic body. Nor can the compensating growth be attributed solely to the greater amount of exercise entailed on the one leg which has to serve for two. I have the record of two young men who from the ages of fifteen to twenty-two concentrated all their gymnastic and out-door athletics on leg development, yet in spite of their specialized efforts, supplemented by good health and excellent nutrition, the results are scarcely noticeable. The gymnastic instructor of a large athletic club assures me that the most intensive specialization often fails of anything more than an unimportant increase in facility. To get a marked compensation there must obviously be at work some Unconscious directing wish; something which is steadily occupied with its purpose, which is highly energized, yet which does not absorb the attention to the exclusion of conscious concern with the rest of the affairs of living. The constancy of effort seems to be indispensable. We may recall here that our hysteria patient was discharging without cessation, a highly concentrated, and highly effective, stream of energy in his rigid arm, yet there was little sense of fatigue. The compensation response, then, is to a wish which is constantly and extraordinarily ener-

gized. It may be in the Fore-conscious, and partly at least, appear in the Conscious; *but it must be reinforced by an affect in the primitive Unconscious.* The boy who has lost a leg is placed at a disadvantage. Both in appearance, and resourcefulness as a physical organism, he must realize his inferiority to everybody around him. The emotional affect is profound, and there is no adequate response in his experience. From time to time he may be made the target of rough humor, ridicule and taunts. Humiliation, rage, envy, hatred, jealousy—all these may be aroused, in highly primitive forms. In his helplessness he may develop an inordinate desire for love and protection.

Unlike his average playmate he is obliged during the period while his body is readjusting, at nearly every movement to be conscious of himself; particularly to be conscious of the remaining leg which must learn new adaptations. This leg becomes, as it were, the focus of a tremendous wish-energy which is reinforced by the primitive emotional affects. Later, as adjustment and adaptation progress, there will be a broadening out of the compensation. The early sense of inferiority may be squared by proficiency in the use of the arms, by mental attainment, by charm of disposition; or regressively, by an attitude of permanent dependence on others, or an habitual irascibility of temper.

Someone has said, "As soon as you become aware of your digestion it's a sign you are in danger of

losing it." This is equally true of one's self esteem. With any serious failure of function comes heightened consciousness of self and realization of lowered power. Remembering the Ego Maximation element of the Libido we can see at once that such a situation for a child is a direct blow at its evaluation of itself, in other words at its self esteem. If the situation is prolonged there must inevitably follow a sense of inferiority. This is serious enough when, as in the instance just discussed, it is at the Conscious level, for its train of associated Unconscious affects may make compensation difficult. But when the failure of function is *unrecognized,* thus producing *a sense of inferiority which is also unrecognized,* the possibilities are serious indeed. Consideration of them must begin with an outline of the activities of certain vitally important glands of the body.

In the chapter on "The Operating Tower," we saw that the characteristic responses of adolescence came as the result of affects stimulated by increased glandular activity. The thyroid gland, particularly, speeds up at that period, and the increased quantity (perhaps also a change in the quality) of its secretions has a directly stimulating effect on the organs of procreation which thereupon show a steady growth to maturity. Some of these organs in turn have secretory processes and thus add new chemical products to the blood-stream. Various changes take place in other parts of the body, both structural and functional, and these are accompanied by changes in

the mental outlook and development. It is plain not only that new stimuli are at work, but that a new process of mobilization is going on—the mobilization of specific food values, and directed energy streams, at particular points.

One of the most interesting features of the human system is its series of manufacturing plants in which are produced the chemical agents necessary to mobilize the constituents of food. And it is a part of the fine natural economy that the secretions containing these chemical agents should serve several other purposes also. In general, each may be said to have an alterative effect upon the others, or at least upon the activities of the other plants; also they act upon the inward-bound nerve paths as exciters of affects in both the Unconscious and the Fore-conscious wish-fields. However, fascinating as is the study of these organs, we must not be led away from our main purpose which merely requires a recognition of their possibilities as related to compensation. I shall therefore confine myself to a brief outline.

They are variously called, "endocrines," "ductless glands," "organs of internal secretion," "endocrine glands," etc. I shall use the latter term. The endocrine glands, then, produce secretions which enter the blood-stream and vitally affect the bodily structure and functions.

The Pituitary Gland. This is a small gland, about the size of a hickory-nut, located near the center of the head, directly under the third ventricle of the

brain, where it rests in a little cup-like depression in the bony floor-plate of the skull. Its secretions have an important part in the mobilizing of carbo-hydrates, maintaining blood-pressure, stimulating other glands, and maintaining the tonicity of the sympathetic nerve system. Its under, or over, activity during childhood (and under some conditions during later life) will produce marked characteristics in the body structure, and, what concerns us more, equally marked characteristics of mental development and function.

The Thyroid Gland. Located at the frontal base of the neck, extending upward in a sort of semicircle on both sides, with the *Parathyroids* near the tips. The thyroid secretion is important in mobilizing both proteids and carbohydrates; it stimulates other glands, helps resist infections, affects (with the pituitary and other secretions) the hair growth, and influences the organs of digestion and elimination. It is a strongly determining factor in the all-around physical development, and also in the mental functioning. A well-balanced thyroid goes a long way toward insuring an active, efficient, smoothly coördinated mind and body.

The Adrenal Glands. Located just above the small of the back, these organs have been called by some writers the "decorative glands," since one of their functions appears to be that of keeping the pigments of the body in proper solution and distribution. But of greater importance is the agency of the

adrenal secretion in other directions. It contains a most valuable blood-pressure agent; it is a tonic to the sympathetic nerve system, hence to the involuntary muscles, heart, arteries, intestines, etc., as well as to the perceptive paths. It responds to certain emotional excitements by an immediate increase in volume of secretion, thus increasing the energy of the whole system, and preparing it for effective response.

The Pineal, Thymus, Pancreas, Liver, The Sex Glands. These are mentioned merely to give an idea of the complete chain of the most important endocrines. Further review of the glandular functions and effects would only serve to multiply examples without adding anything to the essential point. It may be well, however, to emphasize, in passing, the following facts about the secretions of the sex glands: 1. They are in part taken into the blood-stream; 2. They energize both the brain and muscles to a marked degree; 3. They interact with, and upon, other glands; 4. They excite a most complex and important system of affects; 5. Their insufficiency results in greatly lowered sense of personal power.

Let us now consider some of the possibilities as related to compensation. The normal child, with a properly balanced endocrine system, has comparatively little need for concentration of attention upon itself or within itself. It is amply resourceful and well adapted to its usual environment. It is filled with a satisfying sense of power and well-being. Its self esteem is high, without specialized exaggeration.

But let us assume that the endocrine system is out of balance. This may occur through inheritance; the glandular family history is both interesting and important. It may occur as the after effect of some infectious disease; for example, measles, mumps, scarlet fever, influenza, diphtheria, all of which are likely to leave their marks in faulty function of one or more endocrines. It may occur through badly balanced diet. Or it may occur, though I believe more often in later life than in childhood, through deep and prolonged emotional disturbance. (There are ample observations to show that a child who lives constantly in great fear must suffer from deranged function of the adrenals, if not of other glands.) From whatever the cause, the unbalance is likely to have deep and far reaching effects. There will be over development in some directions and under development in others. Coördination may be faulty. The mind may work slowly, with lack of attention, and poor memory. There may be little muscular energy, and low resistance to fatigue. Extreme fatness or thinness, or other physical variation may ensue. But we are less concerned with the evidences than with the responses which will inevitably follow.

First of all, there will be, consciously or unconsciously, a sense of inferiority. However satisfied the "different" child may externally appear to be, analysis of its conduct will show that the deeper layers of the mind, at least, are aware of the difference and acutely concerned about it. The compensation, to be

sure, may take the form of visible self conceit, but this only demonstrates how great was the need to reinforce the weakened esteem of self. There will be a heightened self-consciousness. In studying children of various ages who showed mild glandular unbalance, I have yet to see one in whom this factor was not present. It is as if the Central Station, fully aware that something is wrong, proceeds to occupy itself with ways and means to compensate for the difficulty, until the self-centered attention finally breaks through to the consciousness as a fixed habit, without its significance being realized. The self-consciousness is increased also, in many cases, by the continuous excitation of special affects through excessive activity of some gland. The whole process might be expressed in four terms. First, a disturbance of the organism's vital balance. Second, unconscious realization of lowered adaptability to environment. Third; the resulting unconscious sense of inferiority as a machine. Fourth; the unconscious effort at compensation.

As three of these terms are at the Unconscious level, I want to recall our hysteria case for a moment because it revealed how completely physical processes can be directed and controlled at that level. We saw in our patient that the Unconscious has at its service the complete mechanism of perception, affect and response. The Central Station which is getting faulty service from its connecting endocrines must concentrate on making up for the deficiency as best

it can. For example, if the adrenals will not make the proper response to danger by quickly preparing the body for flight or fight, then there must be compensation through heightened caution to avoid the possibility of danger. The following extracts from actual studies will serve to show some of the varied lines of compensation.

1. A boy of fourteen. Healthy and aggressive until the age of four, he had then had diphtheria. For two or three years after, he had showed the greatest timidity and fear when any other boy, even though smaller than he, became quarrelsome. Gradually a change came; he began to "show fight." At fourteen he was the school bully, and decidedly in need of psychological correction. An over-compensation, with exaggerated self assertion, becoming fixed as a false goal which could certainly not lead to a well-rounded, happy adjustment to life.

2. A boy of seventeen with physical signs of pituitary variation. Very tall and thin. Had made desperate but ineffectual efforts to develop himself symmetrically like his companions. Was acutely self-conscious and always depressed over his failure in athletics. Happened to win a prize in biology, gave up the false goal of competitive athletics, and today is a brilliant laboratory specialist.

3. A girl of eleven. Had had measles twice, both times severely. Showed evidence of general endocrine unbalance. For several years had seemed unable to adjust herself to discipline or mental applica-

tion. To avoid punishments she developed a habit of adroit and continuous lying. Poverty reinforced her sense of inferiority to her companions. She compensated by stealing food, clothes, books, and trinkets. The false goals, if retained, meant a criminal life.

4. A young man of twenty-two. Pituito-thyroid variation. His childhood history was one of gradual retirement from aggressive contact with other boys. He had been highly imaginative and sensitive. Extraordinary tallness and thinness had brought on him much ridicule. He is today entirely convinced that the present state of society is a criminal conspiracy of the strong to enslave the weak; in brief he is a destructive radical.

5. A man of forty-seven. Short and stout. Insufficient thyroid, with a family history which indicates that it is an inherited condition. Suffered from alimentary difficulties and sense of general weakness and futility all through childhood. Has from the age of eighteen been engaged in an intense struggle to get and save money. Has never married for fear of the expense of keeping a family. The compensation is acquiring money-power as a substitute for the missing sense of personal power; reacting to constitutional inferiority by acquiring a false symbol of superiority.

6. A girl of sixteen. Variant pituitary, insufficient thyroid. First eight years frail and delicate, with rapid growth in height but subnormal weight; sensitive and self-conscious. Compensated by marked ex-

hibitionism and acquirement of many acts which could be performed before an audience; thus powerfully reinforcing the doubtful self esteem. Glandular and psychological treatment released the energy from the false goal, and her unusual mind, supplemented by an adjusted body, found its real possibilities.

7. Woman of thirty-one. X-ray of head shows malformation of the bony cup in which lies the pituitary. Unusually large head, legs disproportionately short for the body. History of life-long moral weakness, with lying as a safeguard. Acutely self-conscious. Mental development arrested and processes slow. Compensates for the inability to handle the world aggressively, by exaggerated affability and instant agreement with anybody about everything.

8. Young man of twenty-one. Pituitary variance and adrenal insufficiency. Nearly died of influenza in early childhood. Seemed to have a good mind but was unable to use it. The backwardness in school brought reproaches and humiliation to the self-conscious boy, and he abandoned school early with precocious ideas of marriage, children and "making a name in the world." In these we see a compensation striving; the desire to prove himself "a complete man," far in advance of his fellows. He became remarkably handsome and the compensation-wish seized upon this and urged him into moving pictures where the sense of mental inferiority may be squared by appearing as a star not only before applauding thousands but before himself. The false goal here

is not the profession chosen, but the inordinate concentration on self.

9. A woman of fifty-six. Evidences of life-long pituitary, thyroid and adrenal variances—a so-called "pluriglandular syndrome." Physique by no means badly proportioned, but features unfortunately large and skin of coarse texture. History of several severe attacks of infectious diseases during early childhood in an English village. Her unattractive appearance was often slightingly referred to at home. Adolescence came early. She greatly desired the society of men, marriage, home, children, but these wishes were never fulfilled. Her brothers stated that she had never been able to keep any men friends "because she talked them to death about herself." The compensation appeared, when the case was studied, in the form of endless fictitious reminiscences about men who had been in love with her. To judge from her conversation one would have had to believe that nearly every man she had ever known had been her devoted and hopeless suitor. (One sees the same mechanism—getting compensation through phantasy or day-dream—quite frequently, both among children and adults. It is a very common type of false energy goal.)

10. Young woman of eighteen. History indicates pituitary variance and some adrenal insufficiency. Tall and athletic in build. Adolescence began early but made slow progress. Contours approach mascu-

line rather than feminine cast, and the chief interests are in masculine pursuits. Procreative system seriously retarded. No interest in boy friends, but many over-emotionalized friendships for girls. Here the compensation for the unconscious sense of inferiority as a woman has taken the form of a symbolic masculine striving, which is, of course, a false goal for a feminine organism. Glandular and psychological assistance will probably result in both physical and mental readjustment.

The foregoing examples will suffice to suggest the many-sidedness of the efforts at compensation. The result is sometimes a valuable compromise for a situation which cannot be remedied, but in general the false goal is a misdirection of energy; a disproportionate use of it. The first point of correction is the glands themselves, if they are out of balance, but following this there should be an earnest effort, through analysis and intelligent direction of the wish-force (will), toward the acquirement of all-around effective adjustment to life.

With brief mention of one more point I shall leave further treatment of this subject until we come to its place in the study of auto-suggestion. I have tried to make clear that the endocrine glands are charged with mobilizing the food values, and that their proper functioning makes for a vigorous mind and body. Conversely, their failures of functioning may result in enfeeblement. It follows that the person

who wishes to "remain young," to retain effective, all-around, vital energy, must keep the endocrine system working in good order. With this thought in mind we will turn to the consideration of one of the means which should not be overlooked in seeking this end.

CHAPTER V

AUTOSUGGESTION

THE WORK OF THE NANCY AND ROUSSEAU SCHOOLS

OUR hysteria case must furnish us with yet one more point of departure. We traced and analyzed, step by step, the process and mechanisms which led from a very ordinary domestic scene to a most extraordinary locking of the patient's right arm behind his back, and we saw how it was possible to cure him by reawakening memories of a conflict which carried too great an energy-charge for expression through the channels habitually used by the Unconscious. We saw in the rigid arm a steady discharge of both muscular and nervous energy, and unlike all voluntary actions it did not cause proportionate fatigue. This is a most important point. If any of us should attempt to duplicate the patient's muscular feat, there would be weariness and numbness. All conscious actions will bring fatigue if persisted in. The mere fact of being awake, even though there is no conscious expenditure of muscular energy, will sooner or later bring fatigue; from which it is obvious to deduce that attention itself is an act, and a voluntary one. Indeed it is a most highly complex act for it involves a heightened tonus of all the per-

ceptive paths, as well as some of the projecting ones. It is a condition of at least partial readiness to react to external things. The involuntary activities of the body, on the other hand, produce little fatigue, or none at all, at least in a recognizable sense. The heart pumps tirelessly, the lungs inflate and deflate in response to an unwearying diaphragm, the arteries, the peristaltic function of the alimentary canal, the endocrines, the lymphatics, all maintain their operations without sensible fatigue. And they are operated intelligently; moreover unconsciously. The whole involuntary system is a highly coördinated, highly coöperative set of activities controlled by a directing function of the central station.

How do we know they are not merely the parts of an automatic machine which once set in motion needs no direction?

There are many answers, but two or three will suffice. They react to external perceptions; for example at the eye-perception or ear-perception of danger there will be an immediate call on the adrenals which will respond by pouring additional secretion into the blood-stream. The sympathetic nerve system is stimulated, raising the speed of the heart, and increased sugar is supplied for emergency muscular effort. As Cobb puts it in his book, *The Organs of Internal Secretion:** "The activity of the suprarenal (adrenal) glands, in company with the sympathetic

* *The Organs of Internal Secretion,* by I. G. Cobb. Wm. Wood & Co., New York.

stimulation, enables the individual to perform feats of unusual strength (more particularly under sudden stress) in response to the emotions engendered, as we have already seen, by instinctive reactions. Again the stimulation of the sympathetic produces splanchnic vasoconstriction, with an increased systemic blood-pressure; there is increased rapidity in the heart beat; and an increased quantity of sugar becomes converted from the hepatic glycogen by means of the hyper-adrenia, and available for muscular energy. Sweating, which takes place on exertion, keeps the temperature normal. At this stage the individual (a soldier facing danger) is prepared to react to his environment."

This is a highly intelligent response by the involuntary system to the needs of the voluntary. In like manner the involuntary system—innervated by the sympathetic nerve system—makes appropriate responses to the entire range of emotions. But again, in some of the compensation efforts we saw an intelligent, and always a purposeful, direction and control *at an involuntary level.* And finally in our case of conversion hysteria we have an example of the Unconscious infringing the rights of the Fore-conscious and tying up a part of the voluntary muscular system, *to serve a definite purpose, in response to a group of emotions.* We know this occurred during sleep, hence without conscious attention. We know that it was maintained the next day and through succeeding days with very little fatigue, hence it was

still independent of attention; and because it was not exhausting we know it must have been directed and controlled by that part of the central station which operates the involuntary system.

We are now at the point of our critical inquiry.

If the Unconscious can modify the activity of any part of the body to suit its own ends, and can do this without our being sensible of any fatigue, should we not gain enormously if we in turn could direct the activities of the Unconscious?

Is there any way by which we can acquire this power?

The first question may be answered in the affirmative without discussion. Our patient's process was pathological, but if we could get control of the same mechanisms and direct them to useful ends we could work wonders in ourselves. The second question is finding its answer in the classes and clinics of Emile Coué at Nancy, France, and Charles Baudouin of the Jean Jacques Rousseau Institute at Geneva, Switzerland. Both Coué, the master, and Baudouin, originally his pupil, are serious and responsible research workers, teachers and practitioners, in the field of suggestion and autosuggestion. Perhaps I should say before going farther that neither suggestion nor autosuggestion as practised by these psychologists is to be confused with what is commonly spoken of as "hypnotism." The popular use of the latter word is usually to describe a state of induced sleep in which the "will" of the sleeper is supposed

to be "surrendered" to that of the operator. In reality, the only act of will or surrender, at any rate the first time one is hypnotized, is the willingness to surrender attention. It is the demobilization of attention that results in the somnolent state, and unless the subject is willing, and follows the operator's instructions, there will be no hypnosis. I shall later refer in detail to this demobilization of attention. My only purpose at the moment is to make clear that with "hypnotism" in the popular sense this chapter will have nothing to do. It is to be concerned solely with certain aspects and possibilities of auto-(self) suggestion on a practical, scientific basis. According to Baudouin (whose book, *Suggestion and Auto-Suggestion,** a very valuable contribution to psychology, is available in an excellent English translation by Eden & Cedar Paul), Coué first undertook his exploration of the field of hypnosis about 1885–6. He conducted a wide research, developed important theories of his own, and in 1910 established at Nancy his free clinic for practice and teaching. A man of limited means, his work had required real personal sacrifice and devotion. His goal, from the first, was to perfect a technique which instead of enabling the operator to implant suggestion in the subject should enable the subject to implant suggestion in himself. Space is lacking to outline the growth of the New Nancy School, but at the time of the German invasion of France, Coué was in-

* Published by Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

structing and treating as many as one hundred people a day. In his collective sittings he induced a very light hypnosis—a sort of reverie state—which he found assisted the patients in carrying out his instructions for self treatment thereafter. The point of this method seems to me to be the establishment of a response-model, the acquirement of which is essential to proficiency in any form of mental or physical exercise. To become a rapid calculator in mental arithmetic, for example, or to become expert in playing the piano, requires the implanting of a complicated series of response-models which finally become so familiar that they recur readily with very slight effort of attention, and the latter condition is necessary to successful practice of autosuggestion.

It is a matter of common observation that everyone is in greater or less degree suggestible. The reaction to suggestion may be either positive or negative, either an acceptance or a heightened resistance. In this we see a censorship. An epidemic of a certain type of crime shows, on the part of the perpetrators, imitative response to suggestion implanted both by the elaborate descriptive accounts in the newspapers, and by the great amount of discussion of the outrages, heard on all sides. Primitive affects of great intensity are aroused; they break through the primary cultural censorship (which is weak in the criminally disposed person), accumulate energy by being dwelt on in consciousness, and finally become sufficiently strong to surmount all fear of punishment

and to control the conduct. The remainder of the social group, having a higher cultural censorship, reacts to the same suggestion negatively, and discharges the energy of whatever primitive affects have been aroused, in the form of wrath and the desire for punishment of the criminals. (In this connection, it is interesting to note that one often hears the desire for vengeance expressed in terms of much greater primitive violence than the crime itself actually showed. Psychoanalysts hold that this is a method by which the individual is reinforcing his own none too strong censorship of his Unconscious.) Boys who run away "to fight Indians" or to become "bold, bad bandits," are usually reacting to suggestion from the abominable dime fiction which our indifference allows to be printed and sold to them, or to an equally pernicious moving-picture film of the cheaply sensational sort.

The two foregoing examples of external suggestion are chosen to show how strong is the factor when primitive affects (wish-feelings) are excited in the field of the Unconscious. External suggestion plays a great part in the behavior of mobs, audiences, the family group, etc., but it is not necessary to multiply examples. Of suggestions arising wholly within one's self such instances may be taken as the following; awaking from sleep at the exact time that has been autosuggested on retiring; recurrence, at the right time, of memory for an appointment that has been made several days before and for which

there is no associative stimulus present at the moment of remembering; occurrence of a real, but very convenient (!) headache which serves as an excuse for a child's remaining at home from school; invariable defeat in some particular game by an opponent of actually inferior skill, with respect to whom one has got the fixed idea of "he always beats me."

The tendency of an idea is to become translated into action. I have carefully observed the actions of certain men of highly suggestible temperament at the billiard table and on the golf course. Their worst execution of shots frequently follows their loudest execration of their "luck." It is to me apparent that an Unconscious mechanism spoils the shot deliberately, to give support to their contention that they are unlucky or that they "can't do a darn thing with that ball to-day." The Unconscious would rather prove its point than win the game. I have played an entire round of golf with an opponent who prefaced the play of each hole with assertions that he was "just a chronic duffer" and that he "never would learn to play the d—n game anyway, if he played a lifetime." This was supplemented by further self derogatory remarks after each shot. Naturally his nerves and muscles did their best to prove that he was right, and his play went from bad to worse. I would not be understood as implying that if he had boasted of his skill before each shot he would thereupon have made the shot perfectly. The use of autosuggestion is not so simple

as that. The boaster is not using effective suggestion at all; he is merely compensating for an Unconscious feeling of inferiority or uncertainty with respect to the very thing he boasts about.

Nearly all American men are familiar with the game of base-ball. A winning team is nearly always a "talking" team. The incessant encouraging and confident cries of the players, are known by everyone to be by no means a useless expenditure of energy. They act as suggestion of the most valuable sort and bear fruit in the form of plays which are often, in spite of their great difficulty, executed with amazing speed and precision. Not infrequently the acquisition of a single player, whose exceptional ability is supplemented by a great reputation, will suffice to inspire a mediocre team so that it becomes a pennant contender. In team suggestion there is for the individual a dual source. He is receiving suggestion from the voices and example of his comrades, and also from himself as he encourages them.

Whether the *source* of the suggestion is internal or external, whether the *origin* is *within one's self or from someone else,* Baudouin emphasizes that "suggestion proceeds wholly within the subject."* This is a most important principle to remember. The idea which embodies the suggestion must be made one's own idea before the machinery of the body will start toward making it real. The machinery to be used may be the involuntary, the voluntary,

* Op. cit.

or both, but it will not begin to act on the suggestion until the latter has been admitted by the censorship. The degree of effectiveness of the suggestion—its power to alter one's condition or conduct—will be determined partly by one's suggestibility, partly by the action of the Censors, partly by the intensity of the affect which is aroused, and partly by the thoroughness with which the suggestion is implanted. We shall later see how these factors point the way to correct technique.

When lecturing I have often been asked to point out the difference between what I was describing and certain religious doctrines which make use of suggestion both from without and from within. First of all, there is this fundamental difference between religion and science: religion *wishes* a thing to be so, while science seeks to *find out* whether it is so or not. The religious propagandist regards the schematism of his religion as a finality, the complete and ultimate truth. The research scientist regards nothing as complete, and nothing as final, but the fact that the horizon of knowledge can be steadily widened by patient effort. Each is seeking for a stronger power-sense to reinforce the human personality. One seeks it through schematised faith; the other through schematised technique. In terms of useful human citizenship, both may often produce like results; and the purposes of our comparison do not require consideration of a life beyond this one. I have no hesitation in saying that at its present level of develop-

ment it seems to me that humanity certainly needs religion; and quite beside any reference to my own belief I consider that the admitted failure of the churches to keep abreast of the human need of spiritual leadership is a great loss to civilization. With respect to the general psychology of the Unconscious, there can be no doubt that a thorough knowledge of it would add to the usefulness of any pastor capable of applying it. With respect to suggestion, which, whether recognized as such or not, is the basic principle of at least one large sect, I feel very sure that the average man or woman would be stronger and more self reliant in the long run if there were added a thorough study of autosuggestion, frankly accepted and understood for exactly what it is, and not tinged with mysticism. In brief, there is no disharmony with the concept of God in assuming that the individual should both know and direct his mental and physical organism on a scientific basis.

The first thing to do in examining the mechanisms and the possibilities of autosuggestion is to dismiss from our minds as completely as possible whatever rubbish we may chance to have accumulated there from the writings of professional optimists. The quack is an ever-present phenomenon, common to all climates. The suggestion-quack assures us that we have only to think money and we shall be rich, to think fame and we shall be famous, to go about declaring that everything is all right, and everything

will be all right. Unfortunately, what he says is not true, but he usually gets a considerable following because there is a natural human tendency to seek a short cut and a side door into the kingdom of successful living. Knowledge involves study, and thorough study requires patient, persistent, hard work. Moreover, the acquirement of accurate knowledge might completely upset the professional optimist's quack philosophy. He finds it easier to hurdle such trifling obstacles as physiological and psychological facts, with the help of such catch phrases as, "he can who thinks he can," "right thinking makes right living," "a cheerful mind makes a sound body," and the like. The serious research worker can spare little time for such literature but it often supplies an element of real humor. In a single paragraph of one widely circulated book of this sort there is the ridiculous confusion of autosuggestion with a conflict between Unconscious and Fore-conscious based on a psychic trauma of childhood.

Autosuggestion, applied with sound technique, has produced, and is producing, highly valuable results. It has passed the experimental stage. At Nancy, and at the Rousseau Institute in Geneva, it is in daily clinical and pedagogical use under responsible scientific direction. It has proved its value and its possibilities of future development. But unless applied in the right way it is useless.

Moreover, there is a tendency to claim for it more than is yet justified. The translators of Baudouin's

book, at the end of their preface remark, ". . . we unhesitatingly endorse the author's claim that the teachings of the New Nancy School are destined in conjunction with the teachings of psychoanalysis, to effect a renovation of psychology, medicine and pedagogy."* That is rather a large order. We shall do well not to leap at too sweeping a conclusion. But my own experiments have convinced me that with increasing knowledge of how autosuggestion works physiologically, and the improvement of technique which will naturally follow, it will come into wide general use with far-reaching results. I have succeeded, for example, in getting measurable effects upon certain endocrine glands, upon spasmodic muscular contractions, upon functional defects of vision, upon the activities of the mind during sleep, and upon some other functions both of the involuntary and voluntary system, with increased energy, improved general health, and quite remarkable change for the better in unstable or depressed mental outlook of neurotic type.

Reference has been made to the fact that, whatever its source, suggestion proceeds within the individual himself. It is therefore, finally, autosuggestion. Its working processes must be operative at the Unconscious level. From a nerve viewpoint this is synonymous with the involuntary system. Baudouin points out that, "Suggestion enables us to control something within the organism which is in-

* Op. cit.

19,490

dependent of the action of the will, something to which we can never hope to issue direct commands."* The constantly increasing complexities of its external interests have more and more forced mankind to adapt itself by increased development of the Foreconscious. This in turn has required greater and greater repression of the Unconscious. The human being of today is far less closely in touch with his natural primitive self than was his ancestor of thousands of years ago. Consciously, he is more resourceful in ability to think; but Unconsciously, as an instinctive animal, he is much less efficient. It is as if he had partially lost the use of an inner eye. To quote Baudouin again, "We thus acquire (through autosuggestion) a privilege which, according to Delboeuf, we originally possessed in an earlier stage of evolution. In those days the living being was fully aware of all that went on within. Owing to division of labor, its attention was increasingly directed outwards, and the supervision of the inner world was left to the subconscious. However this may be, suggestion seems to reëstablish the supervision, to reconquer a realm lost in the course of evolution, and to reconquer it without any loss to subsequent gains."*

How are we to get back in touch with that inner self?

Let us first review briefly what we now know of

* Op. cit.

its nature. The inner self was primitive-instinctive; hence it is the Unconscious, which we have been analyzing. We know that it never sleeps, indeed that it is partly released from its repressions during sleep. Hence, a state resembling sleep will provide the easiest approach to it. We know it is a wish-field. From its ability to control nerves and muscles without our Conscious attention, we know it must be in touch with the entire organism of the body, able to effect changes over both the involuntary and voluntary systems.

These things were dealt with both in considering our hysteria case and also in discussing compensation. But it will not be amiss to note also the following example. I have had the opportunity to analyze two cases of sleep-walking. In both, the Unconscious obviously was not asleep but very much awake and able to control nerves and muscles. Moreover, the analysis revealed that it was seeking to gratify wishes which were under complete suppression from consciousness during the patient's waking life. Oddly enough both cases showed the sleep-walking was a symbolic response to the same pair of wishes; the desire to escape from a domineering mother and to reach a person to whom the mother-love had been strongly transferred. The Unconscious wishes were what set the machinery in motion. Since the analysis —a period of three years—there has been no recurrence of the nocturnal wandering. The wishes, brought forward into consciousness, were fully dealt

with at that level, were allowed an adequate emotional discharge, and effective adjustments were made. The important point is the fact which has been emphasized before, that *in order to get effective action there had to be a wish.*

Believing "the doctor can help me" we have yet to get to the doctor. The Unconscious certainly has power, but how shall we get to the Unconscious? And, we might add, how shall we get this non-cultural wish-field to serve our Conscious cultural wishes (cultural in the sense that they are to subserve useful achievement ends)? It is true that some of our Conscious wishes are in harmony with the primitive autistic desires, but a vast majority of them involve sacrifice of the latter. The tendency of the Unconscious, we must remember, is to seek gratification with the least possible effort to the organism.

Let us deal with the second question first. The athlete who enters a race can know in advance that his involuntary system will make definite efforts to respond to the emergency. We need only recall the instance of the soldier whose adrenal glands make a special effort to prepare his body for fight or flight. Now the glands begin their preparation in advance of the actual need. They are responding to an emotion aroused by an idea. Yet there is to be hard work involved. We might expect that this would be shirked by the Unconscious. The fact that it is not is plainly due to a wish, the *Unconscious* element of which is the Ego Maximation sought in the glory of

winning and in demonstrating superiority to others in performance; while the Conscious element may be loyalty to college or athletic club. The Conscious wish alone would not secure the needed effects in the involuntary system. *There must be a harmonic relation with a wish of the primitive Unconscious.*

Returning now to the first question of how the Unconscious may be reached, we must not fall into the error of assuming that merely to wish consciously for something which happens to be agreeable to the Unconscious will secure the latter's coöperation. The Unconscious is preoccupied with its own affairs. The athlete has had to reinforce his wish with long and arduous periods of training, with trial races, and usually with phantasies, both waking and sleeping, of contests and victories. The wish, in his case, is so strongly implanted that it forces a right of way. It is allowed largely to dominate his whole conduct and habit of life. And, from its very nature, its relation to his Unconscious is simple and direct. The desire to have one's mind work better, or to have more efficient endocrines, or to have a piece of mental work carried forward during sleep, or to be better adjusted socially, or to be rid of a tendency to worry —in short the desire for any of the great number of specific results which can often be secured through scientific autosuggestion—is a vastly different matter. Much thought may be required to locate the Unconscious affect which will most readily respond to the Conscious wish. Yet I am convinced by experiment

that it is important to do this. It may even prove necessary to educate the Unconscious—or rather a certain aspect of it, the imagination. Dream-forming and phantasy-forming, the Unconscious may fairly be recognized as the seat of imagination.

Hypnosis has proved that suggestion reaches the Unconscious most easily during sleep. One cannot very well put one's self to sleep and then implant a suggestion formula. Yet the state of sleep must in some way be approached. This was the first great difficulty which Coué encountered, and which he finally surmounted. A certain degree of attention was obviously required to repeat, even only mentally, a formula of suggestion; and attention is the antagonist of sleep. Moreover, during a state of attention the Unconscious is under strong censorship. There is, however, between waking and sleeping, an intermediate state in which attention has not been entirely surrendered and yet phantasies are forming. With many people this lasts for such a brief moment before they are fully asleep that they are not even aware such an interval exists. It does exist nevertheless, and with the proper technique it can be prolonged. It was one of Coué's important discoveries that autosuggestion could be applied during this state with high effectiveness.

A lesser approximation of the state of sleep is found in the mental posture which accompanies reverie. There is partial detachment from the outer world, from the pressing realities of life, and sur-

render to the imaginative function of the Unconscious. In both of the foregoing mental states the condition is characterized by Baudouin as an "outcropping" of the Unconscious. "As soon as the attention is relaxed it has become possible for all our inner life to flow together, to collect itself within us."* Unconscious, Fore-conscious, and Conscious, are able to *interweave* as it were. The acuteness of both Censors is lowered. For the sake of a graphic illustration we may liken the condition to that of a small river which is used for power While the mill is working, the water is flowing around the dam through the power conduit, but when the mill-gate is partially closed the water rises and flows over the edge of the dam. The *continuity* of the stream is not affected, but there is a change in the *manner* of continuity. The flow over the dam is at lower tension and dispersed over a wider area. This illustration, unfortunately, does not supply the other factor —the ability of the water below the dam to communicate in retrograde with that above—but this missing factor may be in part supplied if we remember that a part of the water in the conduit, no longer required to flow through the mill, may now blend again with the water behind the dam.

To distinguish it from mere reverie, I shall use the term "intermediate state" in referring to the condition just before attention is completely surrendered in sound sleep. In my experience this is the state to

* Op. cit.

aim at in the practice of autosuggestion. It is difficult to maintain, but with right instruction and earnest practice the difficulties can be overcome.

Having access to the Unconscious, and knowing that suggestion, to be effective, should be in line with at least one affect of the Unconscious wish-field, we have now to consider the form which autosuggestion must take. A strong wish follows, and is associated with, a strong emotion. The emotion is involuntary and spontaneous; i.e., it arises independently of any conscious will. We cannot will ourselves to love, to hate, to be afraid. As a matter of fact, the harder we will ourselves to love the more definitely we shall not love. There is in reality a conflict of two ideas; "I love," and " I do not love." Of these *the true one is always the idea which is actually in force and dominating the conduct.* It is, in a sense, *the actually operative suggestion.* It is in harmony with the present Unconscious wishes. Attempting to countersuggest it, does not alter the controlling wish; the only result is *to strengthen the latter by adding to it the force of attention.*

Another view of this reversal of effect may be seen in the following. We dislike pain; a decayed tooth may become very painful; we wish the aching would cease; but the harder we wish it would stop the more it seems to ache. It has received the force of concentrated awareness—attention. Again, something has slipped from consciousness which we wish to recall. The harder we try, the more we concen-

trate the voluntary attention, the more likely it is that we shall not succeed. The energy of attention is steadily reinforcing the fact that the thing is forgotten. It is like pulling on the end of a strap, the other end of which is held in the jaws of a bulldog. The harder we pull the more tightly he grips. It is only when we relax that he also relaxes. Often, of course, the forgotten thing is repressed by the censorship because of some Unconscious association, but the most thorough experimentation fails to show that this is always true. And again, we may see the reversal of effect at work in a child walking on a rail. Every slight loss of balance brings a struggle entirely disproportionate to the effect actually needed, and, more often than not, the struggle ends in a failure. *Attention is focussed on the disturbed equilibrium, and the latter tends to perpetuate itself.* We may see here, besides the reversed effect, the great possibilities inherent in the fact *that an idea tends toward realization*. A confident and unimpeded idea of equilibrium, at the outset, would be of great service to the child, since it would be the controlling suggestion.

But to return to the consideration of reversed effect:

Baudouin speaks of it as "the law of reversed effort" and attributes to Coué the formulation of the law. "The frequency of spontaneous suggestions," he says, "above all, of bad ones, shows us that the first task of reflective suggestion must be to neutral-

ize these noxious suggestions, to struggle against suggestions that are already in operation. Yet, now when we concentrate voluntary attention upon the good idea which we are to substitute for the bad idea, when we devote all our energies to the substitution, what will happen? A reversal of effort, nothing more. The harder we try to think the good idea, the more violent will be the assaults of the bad idea."

Again he remarks, "Voluntary effort essentially presupposes the idea of a resistance to be overcome. It comprises both action and reaction. The two notions are simultaneously present at the moment of the effort. If then (and this is a matter of the first importance), I concentrate voluntary attention on an idea, which implies my making an effort, I am simultaneously conscious of an action towards the idea, and of a resistance in consequence of which the idea continually tends to escape me, so that I must unceasingly recall my wandering attention. . . .

"In these circumstances, we do not think a *single idea,* but *two conflicting ideas.* And if our state of consciousness is sufficiently reinforced by attention, for the origination of a suggestion to be possible, it is not a *single suggestion* that will result, but there will be *two conflicting suggestions* which will neutralize one another more or less perfectly. The yield, therefore, will be far less copious than in the case of spontaneous suggestion. And if it should unfortunately happen that the sentiment of effort and re-

sistance predominates, we shall probably arrive at the negative result, the reverse of that which we desire, a result whose dimensions will be proportional to the efforts we have made to avoid it."*

I have quoted Baudouin and Coué on the "law of reversed effort," because my own analytical work, as well as persistent experiment in autosuggestion, has convinced me that nothing else can so defeat the suggestive purpose as the approach through conscious will and voluntary effort.

But reason and experiment add yet another point. Effective suggestion requires partial control of the involuntary system of the body. This control is vested in the Unconscious. The Unconscious is an affect-field, and there is scarcely a moment from birth to death when one or another of its affects is not energized. *Now a suggestion, to get into action, has got to stimulate an affect which is strong enough to overcome any other then present, and thus pre-empt the right of way. The affect necessary to make any given suggestion become dynamic must supervene above all others and appropriate sufficient energy to dominate the conduct of the Unconscious.*

I maintain that this is a law as certain and as basic as the law of reversed effort. It may be called *"the law of dominant affect,"* and it is here advanced for such critical examination as psychologists may wish to give it.

* Op. cit.

We are now in a position to construct the complete process needed for the most effective auto-suggestion:

First: We need to acquire a mental posture as nearly as possible approaching the intermediate state between waking and sleeping. This must begin with thorough relaxation both of the voluntary muscles and of attentive, outwardly directed thought. It is a condition which is by no means easily attained, and for the average person requires careful instruction and a great deal of practice. At first the pupil usually finds a quiet place absolutely essential. The condition occurs, of course, spontaneously every night and morning when going to sleep and on awakening, but it lasts only for a very brief interval, often not longer than a minute or less. The interval is at first very difficult to observe in one's self, because one is in the habit of using so much attention for observing anything, that the mere direction of attention to the state is sufficient to destroy it instantly. My own first experiments after retiring at night only resulted in disturbing sleep, and for a long time I was quite unable to think of observing in the morning until I was fully awake. If we remember, however, that the state of reverie is a similar condition, except that there is less surrender of attention, we shall see that the practice of deliberate reflective reverie—the body first being thoroughly relaxed and the eyes closed,—is likely to prove of great service in acquiring the needed attitude of mind. A few

minutes undisturbed, preferably lying down, two or three times a day, will suffice in a short time to learn the trick of directed reverie, a reverie in which the attention is turned inward with a pre-determined line of thought. This will provide a useful approach to the more effective intermediate state.

I do not propose to give here even an outline of the technique or directions necessary for the practice of autosuggestion. At a later date I hope to present them in a separate volume, but at present I do not consider them sufficiently perfected to insure satisfactory results without personal instruction. We are concerned here solely with the mechanisms, as necessary to our understanding the activities of the human Unconscious.

Second: Whether in the state of reverie or in the intermediate state, there must be a management of the attention which will keep it at a low enough tension not to disturb the mental posture that has been acquired, and at the same time make possible the direction of the flow of thought in a definite suggestion. This also is a most difficult knack to acquire. It is the use of attention in a peculiarly mild, yet directed manner, to which we are quite unaccustomed. Baudouin devotes much space to a careful and detailed discussion of it. The tendency of attention in the ordinary state of reverie—in the child we should simply call this state "day dreaming"—is to wander over a variety of subjects or over many features of the same subject. Obviously this will

not serve for implanting a definite formula of suggestion.

I have found it useful to canvass thoroughly, in advance, while in an entirely attentive state, the situation which one wishes to deal with, and to devise a formula which may be committed to memory. Then, when one is ready to relax, the formula is on tap, so to speak, and can be called upon without effort. The formula must state the desired result not as a fact but as a thing in process of accomplishment. However credulous others may be with regard to one's statements, there is nothing surer than that one's own Unconscious cannot be tricked by a false assertion from the Conscious. If one is hungry, there can at best be nothing more than a temporary effect from asserting that one is not hungry. If remedial suggestion is to be employed to correct undue fatigability of the muscles due to insufficient thyroid secretion, there will be little value in using a formula which merely states that the fatigue is not a fact. The deficient thyroid will not be corrected. (For that matter, in such a case I should emphatically advise that the suggestion follow and supplement actual treatment of the thyroid by a competent physician.) Again, if the general outlook on life is a discouraged one, little benefit may be expected from a formula which simply denies the habitual state of mind. The desired condition must be stated as beginning to take place. This is a direct appeal to the imagination. If I say when I lie down,

"Now all my voluntary muscles are relaxed," I am instantly confronted by the fact that it is not so. Attention is split between two opposed things. But if I say, "Now my voluntary muscles are *relaxing*," I have denied nothing, and I have set imagination at work naturally, exactly as it worked during childhood.

With the formula rightly prepared, and a relaxed posture assumed, the attention is then demobilized from the outer world and allowed to mobilize around the idea embodied in the formula. In this latter process, four pupils report that the mere repetition of the formula, slowly, in the very lightest whisper, has sufficed to hold their attention upon the idea for several minutes without disturbing the dreamy intermediate state.

Third: There must be a goal selected which is practical and which will harmonize with a basic wish of the Unconscious. A girl with black hair need not expect that autosuggestion will change it to red. That is not practical. Nor is there any point in using a suggestion which merely aims at an arbitrary and unstudied change in condition or function of body or mind, for such a change might defeat a fixed striving of the Unconscious—and it certainly will not take place. On the other hand we need only recall our study of the control of the "will" to realize that in Ego Maximation there is a group of Unconscious affects at the achievement level which may be called upon as most powerful allies. If, as

pointed out by Baudouin in his outline of "the law of auxiliary emotion," a strong emotion is called into play, so much the better. A young woman who wishes to use suggestion to get rid of an annoying skin eruption of neurotic origin, has in the wish for beauty a strong Ego Maximation affect to rely on as her ally; but, if she happen to be in love, there is still an added affect—the wish to be beautiful for her lover—which, incidentally, may also be of the Ego Maximation group.

Fourth: There must be regularity and persistence. I have stressed the fact that even with instruction and good technique, much practice is required to become proficient. It is well also to repeat a statement made in connection with the "law of dominant affect," which was that, "There is scarcely a moment from birth to death when one or another of its (the Unconscious) affects is not energized. Now a suggestion, to get into action, has got to stimulate an affect which is strong enough to overcome any other then present, and thus pre-empt the right of way." We may readily see that to get a progressive and continuous result this must be made to happen repeatedly. The affect stimulated by the suggestion cannot be expected to hold the right of way, all the time, to the exclusion of everything else. It must be re-stimulated, just as medicine must be taken at regular intervals, often over a long period of time.

It is in this connection that there is distinct value

in cultivating a habit of mental attitude and conscious action which squares with the suggestion. By the mechanism of association it tends to reinforce the suggestion stimulus. But using habitual voluntary suggestion in this manner, *as an auxiliary,* is a far different thing from attempting to *implant* suggestion by an act of will. Another very valuable auxiliary will be found in much reflective thought about the goal at which the suggestion is aimed. Imagination should be directed to play as much as possible upon the benefits which will be actually realized when the goal is attained. Imagination, it must be remembered, springs from the Unconscious, and so long as we do not *content* ourselves with imagining the goal, but use imagination as a stimulus to an *already begun, active advance* toward the goal, we are turning to account a greater power within us than most of us realize. I have found it valuable, also, invariably to conclude such imaginative reflection with the actual formula used in the suggestion. A habit-association is thereby formed between the words of the formula and the idea of the goal. This cultivation of the imagination along definite achievement lines harmonizes with the ends indicated in the chapter on control and operation of the will.

No consideration, even in outline, of the mechanisms of autosuggestion can be complete without reference to the possible presence of conflicts; such, to use an extreme example, as that of our hysteria patient. In that case, it is possible that by deep

hypnosis an operator could have implanted a suggestion strongly enough to have resulted in releasing the arm. But the conflict which was the underlying cause of the trouble would neither have been resolved nor relieved, and the symptom might either have soon returned or have been replaced by another even more serious. In all cases at the Rousseau Institute where there is indication of serious psychic conflict, it is the practice to resort to psychoanalysis and thus clear up the difficulty before teaching suggestion. Baudouin reports that this method gives admirable results. Suggestion, implanted in an Unconscious which is in violent conflict with the Foreconscious, is a dangerous shot in the dark, with an even chance that the result will be bad instead of good.

Practical applications of autosuggestion are too numerous and inclusive to admit of reviewing more than a few of the most important. Physical disorders of many sorts have been relieved or cured, and the accumulated experience, both at Nancy and at Geneva, proves that, rightly used, suggestion may be made an important and valuable ally of the physician. But in neither of these schools is the emphasis being put on therapeutics. Indeed Baudouin says specifically, "Suggestive practice . . . must not be looked upon as a chapter of medicine, any more than suggestion must be regarded as a special case of will. The two belong to distinct categories. Suggestive practice is not, properly speaking, a

therapeutic method. With the work of the New Nancy School it passes from the medical to the pedagogical sphere. It does not so much consist of a descriptive science as of an education or re-education of certain mental aptitudes and habits which human beings have been tending more and more to lose."*

It seems to me that this concept, the re-education of the Unconscious, embodies the important future of the movement. If the Conscious element of the central station can acquire a working rapport with that portion which is in control of the involuntary system, we may expect results of tremendous importance to the individual. It will be possible, on the one hand, to bring the entire physical status more in line with the achievement goals. On the other hand it will be possible to raise the purposive affect-level of the Unconscious so that its primitive energy will be less dissipated in autistic pleasure wishes. Once in actual working alliance the Conscious can educate the Unconscious, while the latter serves the Conscious purposes. This, to my mind, opens a channel of evolutionary development which has incalculable value.

Because of the inter-relation of personal psychology with the activities of the endocrine glands, I have directed a number of my experiments at effecting specific improvement in the functioning of one or more of these organs. The results have been for the most part positive, and in two instances quite

* Op. cit.

remarkable. Experiments directed at improving the quality and increasing the quantity of brain-work were attended with interesting and highly satisfactory response. In part these were aimed only at generally higher mental efficiency, but in part also they included such specific suggestions as setting the Unconscious at work on a definite creative composition during the night's sleep. In one of the latter instances, when I, myself, was the subject of the autosuggestion, I awoke at five A.M. after several hours of quiet sleep, to find sentences forming in consciousness which were so in line with what I sought that I arose and began writing. The material came rapidly, without pause, for about an hour, then the train of thought ceased as evenly and spontaneously as it had begun. The treatment of the subject was far better than anything I had been able to do with it in many days of conscious effort. Many writers, of course, get similar results without knowledge of the method by which they have been produced. In such cases, the autosuggestion is given spontaneously, growing out of preoccupation with the subject and an intense wish for its successful handling; but the advantage of being able to set the mechanism in motion at will is obvious. Moreover, we must not forget that *work performed by the Unconscious is without perceptible fatigue.* This in itself is a tremendous gain. In setting the Unconscious at work at night, I have found it useful, before retiring, briefly to review the data in con-

sciousness, *with no effort whatever toward construction.* A simple suggestion formula is then used as sleep approaches.

Using autosuggestion to overcome strongly grooved habits seems to require steady and long-continued persistence. Success in such cases comes more readily when a hetero-suggestion (suggestion implanted by someone else) is given first, during very light hypnosis. Autosuggestion used regularly thereafter serves as a continuous reinforcing process. In no point of suggestive practice is the law of dominant affect more important than in overcoming a long-prevalent habit. One must search out an affect of the Ego Maximation group which has great inherent energy capacity, and which will be gratified by discontinuing the habit; dwell on it with the imagination, excite it at every possible opportunity, and associate with it always the goal of freedom from the habit. It amounts finally to replacing the autistic gratification of the habit with a greater pleasure in Ego Maximation on an achievement basis. And the autistic gratification will not lightly be surrendered.

The mechanisms of suggestion can be used in resting both body and brain. "A good way," remarks Baudouin, "of bringing about . . . relaxation of the mind is to immobilize the body, or, to speak more strictly, to relax the muscles, for muscular relaxation seems to generalize itself and to promote the relaxation of the muscles (chiefly optic) of at-

tention." And again, "In place of seeking repose in distraction, which rests the attention by changing its object, let us seek repose in relaxation, in which the attention no longer tries to fix itself on anything."* Both knowledge of the primitive nature of the Unconscious, and knowledge of the possibilities of directed imagination, give us additional hints as to methods of resting the brain. The Conscious and Fore-conscious, that have been occupied all day long with a distressing business problem, will not readily relax. We may secure valuable assistance from the phonograph and a dance record in which the rythm is either sensuous or stirringly primitive. "Jazz" music did not find an instant acceptance among busy Americans without a good psychological reason. It forcibly switches attention from the wearied Conscious to the unwearying, primitive, imaginative Unconscious. Similarly, by directed imagination, the ideas of stress and worry may be replaced by relaxed reverie, in which the affects of the Unconscious have full play. At such times the imagination should be directed at future goals and should be encouraged to dwell on the benefits and pleasures which will come with attainment.

Finally, we come to the question of age; and it is high time that Americans, particularly American business men, should recast their habit of thought on this subject and begin to apply the new light furnished by the psychology of suggestion. From

* Op. cit.

the time a child is born we begin measuring its life. By the time it is two years old we have started observing its birthdays and teaching it our slavery to the calendar. By the time it is five years old, we have let it sense in countless ways our own sense of age difference and distinctions. We cannot avoid doing this because we ourselves are so filled with our notions of the tremendous significance of years that it is impossible to live with us and not absorb the same ideas. Time, with the assistance of clock and calendar, becomes a measure of life, and we insist that the child shall early learn our mental attitude of, "Time flies," which is supplemented by "Time and tide wait for no man." I do not mean necessarily that we actually present these maxims for the child's guidance—although it is often done—but that the effect of our conduct with respect to time and age has that unescapable implication. We have life *segmented,* into childhood, the "teens," young manhood or young womanhood, maturity, prime of life, middle age, elderly, old, and aged. We have the years of each period so stepped off in our minds that the mention of any one of those segments instantly brings to mind an idea of an approximate year. Furthermore, we have endowed each segment with ideas of certain appearance and qualities. Our popular literature rarely describes a character in any other than these accepted and stereotyped attributes allocated to the various segments. If the year "thirty," or "forty," or "fifty," or "sixty," or

"seventy," or "eighty," is used as a stimulus word it will associate in our minds a definitive chain of qualities and physical characteristics. Our sporting writers delight in referring to a baseball pitcher of thirty-seven or thirty-eight in some such jocular terms as "venerable" or "the old man." Countless women look forward with dread to the thirtieth birthday, and regard the fortieth with something akin to despair. Grayness of hair calls up to most of us an idea of mental and physical decline. Now these fixed ideas have an inevitable sequence in determining our view of what people are like at various ages and what they are able to do; and in turn our ideas are reflected in those of the child. If we speak of youth with envy, and of old age with depreciation and pity, indeed even if our speech is guarded and these are only our habits of mind, we may be well assured that the child will soon see life through our eyes and will come to regard forty-five as the beginning of retirement. I well remember the patronizing and indulgent attitude of a collegiate student-body watching a baseball game in which members of the faculty formed one of the teams. Moreover, this attitude was reflected in that of the members of the faculty team themselves. Speaking analytically, they regarded themselves as physically inferior because of greater age. For the purposes of the game they certainly were; but as organisms adjusted to habitual environment of daily life those of them who had taken proper care of

their bodies were actually *more* efficient both physically and mentally than the youths they were playing against. The ability to stand an athletic strain is no test of efficiency *except for an athlete.*

Our emphasis on athletics has its very great value in stimulating, through Ego Maximation, the effort to build fine bodies; but our emphasis on *winning,* on the *ability to beat somebody else,* is in the long run destructive, since it powerfully implants the suggestion both that failure to win means inferiority, and that with the decline of ability to win games there is decline in the whole power of the individual.

I have been particularly interested in observing the mental attitude of boys and girls from fifteen to eighteen, when in physical competition with their parents or others of like age. The age factor is nearly always present in the minds of both, as is evidenced by such ideas as "youth will tell," "I'm not as young as I used to be," "the young men against the old," "mother is a good sport but she can't move fast enough," "what the old man needs is pep," "I've seen the time when I could move as fast as you youngsters," etc. The instance is comparatively rare when the game is merely a happy coöperative exercise between two human beings who are in spirit absolute equals, without reference to age or specialized ability.

Somewhere about the period from 1904 to 1906, there started in American business a "youth cult" that has caused incalculable loss in money, and

scarcely less tragedy in waste of human values than even the Great War. Only within the last four or five years have business executives generally begun to realize the enormous aggregate cost of scrapping trained workers because of advancing years, and training new ones to take their places. Sociologists much earlier realized the consequences to society if the subordinate of forty-five or fifty is to be considered too old for efficient work in business. It is immaterial now to consider in what the "youth cult" had its origin, or whether the famous misquoted half-jest of Dr. Osler—magnified by popular journalism into a national suggestion of tremendous destructiveness—was its chief reinforcement. We have now to consider the consequences.

Suppose that a well-trained, experienced, able, highly competent office manager of the age of forty-six is thrown out of employment for some reason which has nothing to do with his efficiency. He turns to the classified columns of the daily papers and discovers that every advertisement for an office manager contains a clause which bars anyone over thirty-five (most of them will make the age limit thirty). Wherever he goes he knows that there is a dreaded question waiting to be asked. "How old are you?"—and regardless of his ability there will be the stereotyped, "We want a man not over so-and-so, a young man." Eventually he may find a position. I have often wondered just what would happen if the forty-six-year-old applicant were to

remark to the business owner who turns him down, "But you, sir, appear to be approaching sixty. If you want only young men in the business, if only the young are efficient, *why don't you discharge yourself?*"

Any business which is run on the "youth cult" basis is preparing every man or woman who enters its service for a dead-line of decline, discharge and decay; and to these three d's may too often be added a fourth—despair. Now an individual who lives in the fixed expectation of decline at a certain period of life, is very sure to decline at that period. The expectation may be wholly unconscious, but it is all the more deadly in its suggestive power.

The vicious circle begins in childhood. Let us, for the moment, consider that we are the children. We are no sooner getting adjusted to the strange world in which we find ourselves than the mature people in our environment begin preparing us to expect decline and futility as the portion of a considerable measure of life. We are never allowed to regard the people of the world as essentially human equals, irrespective of age. Throughout our childhood, adolescence, and indeed throughout the whole of life, our Unconscious is being hag-ridden by calendars, anniversaries, and the irrevocability of the years. The idea of life *as a constantly rising curve of human progress and service* is seldom more than hinted at as an idealist dream—in spite of the Edisons, Abbots, Fords, Eliots, Tafts, Balfours,

Clemenceaus, Joffres, Fochs, Schwabs, Bernhardts, Shaws, Catts, Tarbells, Gladstones, Garys, Asquiths, Hugheses, and the thousands upon thousands of others, whose names would fill a library, serving as examples to prove the folly of the "decline" notion. Their lives represent rising curves of vision, poise and service. They too had to deal with the incessantly implanted suggestion of age-decline, but the vigor and vitality of their achievement striving proved a counter-suggestion of sufficient power to dominate the organism.

Certain comparative observations will be of value in suggesting corrective measures.

1. Any religion which teaches that life here is of little importance, except as a preparation for death, is implanting destructive suggestion, so far as earthly efficiency is concerned. If "I am but a pilgrim here; heaven is my home," why trouble about developing myself as a part of the human race? Why not attend to my devotions—and wish for an early death?

2. The incessant measuring of time, the "how time flies," the birthdays (which with the superstition of "an allotted span of life" become almost equally death-days), may well be compared with the unmeasured life of the Indian, the Paumotuan or the Marquesan, to whom the number of years means nothing.

3. The "youth cult" glorifies and enormously over-values the power of youth. Conversely, it belittles experience and implies contempt for advanced

maturity. Let us look about us with honest eyes and note the result. In no other civilized nation of the world is there such disregard of the elder by the younger as in America. In Italy, France, Germany, Switzerland, Scotland, England, Ireland, one sees the deepest respect for the wisdom and poise of experience. The young men are no less respectful than the children. They show a natural and intelligent appreciation for what the older man or woman has learned of life. We in America, as early as twenty-one or twenty-two, begin to suspect that we know considerably more than "The Old Man"; by twenty-five we are perfectly sure of it; and by thirty we are beginning to make allowances for him on account of his age. *Do not let us forget that the fault is that of "The Old Man" himself.* We are merely reacting to two lines of suggestion which he implanted. During our childhood, his attitude, the attitude of his friends, and the educational system which he permitted, determined our psychology. When we reached the working age, we found him and his friends scrapping their older employees, male or female, at the omniscient dictum of a shell-spectacled "efficiency graduate" whose mature business experience perhaps compassed as much as two years.

4. The educational system which makes the teacher an underpaid economic inferior, fails to command from parents the respect which the teaching profession should have. The pupil spending a

considerable part of his life in contact with teachers, who are not properly respected by parents, cannot avoid the unconscious suggestion *that nearly all elders may probably be slighted.* I have collected from many children up to the age of sixteen their reaction to their teachers. Only twenty-two per cent viewed their teachers with proper respect. Now the teacher is to the child as the man of fifty or sixty is to the youth just entering business. The habit of regarding the older person, or teacher, as an inferior to be tolerated, pitied, or covertly despised, is deeply implanted suggestion. We are all more or less to blame for the condition; but where the fault lies is immaterial. Our concern should be to change the conditions.

The point is obvious that we have allowed the development of destructive suggestion to surround us. Constructively we should stop measuring our lives and the lives of our children. Age, as a means of measurement, is of no importance whatever. A woman on her thirtieth birthday is neither less attractive, nor less valuable, than on her twenty-ninth, unless she and the others around her have loaded the beginning of the fourth decade with foreboding and fear. We should make the spirit of ever-broadening human service the very core of our religion. We should make every man in our business understand that earnest, faithful service means a life job; and by taking away the fear we shall take away worry—the chief cause of decline. We should make

teaching an amply paid and highly honored profession; and we should insist that every teacher be trained in the psychology of suggestion.

Suggestion, as before emphasized, whether arising from others or in our own minds, works always within us. Let us remember this warning of Baudouin's—the fruit of broad, daily clinical experience: "Autosuggestion can operate upon us with incalculable power. Now if we permit this force to work spontaneously, in default of rational guidance, disastrous consequences may ensue, and do in fact often ensue."* It is for us to see that the suggestions within ourselves, as well as those which surround our children and our fellow workers, are not negative and destructive, but always positive and forward-looking.

* Op. cit.

CHAPTER VI

APPLICATION TO EVERDAY LIFE

WE have a right to expect from any science that it shall pay its way, and until it has done this, or at least has shown promise of doing it in the future, we are justified in questioning its right to any prominent place in our educational system. The assumed purpose of the study of psychology is not only to provide us with better understanding of ourselves and of others, but to make the actual living of life an easier matter. It would not seem unreasonable to expect that a graduate in the study of mind science should recognize a neurosis when he meets one. He might also be expected to have an intelligent understanding of the unconscious conflicts of a child; of the solutions for the problems of adolescence; of the polyphase strivings of a mother possessed by the ambivalent urge to develop her own life, yet immolate it in the lives of her children; of the highly involved suppressions and adjustments that a young woman must make to succeed in business; of such compensation strivings as those of the social and political radical; of the sublimation problem of the unmated woman; and of the effects of destructive suggestion upon the endocrine system.

Now the point about the psychology of the Unconscious is that it does function at exactly this level of direct application to the problem of living. It has nothing to do with philosophy or ethics. It is an experimental and descriptive science. Based soundly on the physiology of the autonomic system, the involuntary and voluntary muscular systems, and the endocrine chemistry, it proceeds by adequately checked experiment to a working understanding of the deepest riddles of human conduct, and of how effectively to change the conduct toward steady betterment, with the least possible difficulty and hindrance. In the preceding chapters, we have made a simple analysis of the human energy stream in its passage through the two fields of affects or wish-feelings, Unconscious and Fore-conscious, which are present in every individual. We have seen that the affects (wish-feelings) of the two fields are opposed to each other and that only by educating the imagination can they be brought into coöperative harmony and even then only to a limited extent. We have examined enough of the mechanisms, both voluntary and involuntary, of the mental and physical apparatus, to give us a working understanding of our own conduct and of that of others. If we apply our understanding of these mechanisms to the life of the family, school, business, or social group, it is impossible that there should not be resulting changes, and these will be of positive and progressive benefit. I propose in this, and the two sections which follow,

to outline in considerable detail the applications which are within the power of any intelligent person.

THE INFANT

I have previously referred to a new-born child as essentially a primitive being. In spite of a natural tendency on the part of most mothers to recoil from such an idea, we shall nevertheless do well not to evade this concept, or to qualify it to any marked extent. A child of the most highly cultured parents, if taken from them at the age of three months, and brought up as the foster child of savage parents on an uncivilized Polynesian island of the South Seas will grow up a Polynesian Islander in morals, manners, and habits of thought. It is possible that he may show a greater capacity for acquiring and applying knowledge, and it is highly probable that he will be slightly inferior to the other islanders in resourcefulness and adjustment to environment as an animal. In other words, he will show the loss of some of the keenness of instinct, but otherwise his psychology will be mainly that of the group with which he is brought up. He may be influenced to some extent by the behavior of the savage children, if they show that they regard him as different from themselves. They may look upon him as an inferior, in which case he will develop some sort of compensation striving, or they may look upon him as a superior, which in turn will lead to various postural adjustments of his ego.

Similarly, if a baby from an uncivilized Polynesian group be adopted into and brought up by a white family, his psychology, except for the persistence of keener animal instincts, will be white. The same has been found true of transplantation between Caucasian and Red Indian. Many observations of the transplantation of Gikuyu babies of British East Africa, to Caucasian family influence, have shown that between these two races there is a wider differentiation of instincts, but when entirely removed from their tribal surroundings Gikuyu children develop a psychology so closely akin to that of the whites, that if the color of their skins could be changed, their savage origin would rarely be guessed.

A baby, then, is at the outset a wholly instinctive animal, with very little inherent tendency toward anything but getting its wishes. It appears to be the fond impression of most mothers that their babies soon come to know them, both by sight and feeling, and I believe the average mother will insist that she "could tell her own baby among a million." Reluctant as we may be to disturb so natural a sentiment, the facts are that observations made in children's hospitals show not only that a baby of six weeks reacts toward any number of women exactly as toward its mother, if given a chance, but that mothers often cannot tell their own tiny infants from others of the same sex if hair and eyes are similar.

Now assuming that a new baby has arrived in the home, we should not forget that, from the hour of its birth, its living psychology has begun to form. It is in full possession of the power to wish, to experience pleasure, to feel disappointment, and to make rudimentary efforts at getting what it wants or rebelling against what it does not want. Every slightest contact which the outer world makes with it, can have a bearing on its future development. Indeed some image-associations and response-models to which it becomes accustomed, during the first eight or ten months, often make apparently indelible impressions which persist throughout life. Those of us who are interested in the "better babies" movement will do well to think equally of the possibilities of a "wiser parents" movement, for the fruits of correct psychological handling of children will be quite as desirable, and quite as beneficial alike to child and future society, as those of improved physical development.

The first wish of the new-born child must be for warmth and freedom from peripheral discomfort, because the act of birth itself produces an environment that is trying to infant as well as to mother. The first pleasure sense, then, will come from gratification of that wish, and the image is perhaps unimportant; but the second pleasure sense, that of feeding at the mother's breast, becomes, through repetition, an image of wide and far-reaching significance. In the first place, it is gratification of

a major wish, with a minimum of personal effort, through the ministration of another. This, as we know, is a pattern of conduct by no means uncommon in the later life of most children—and adults also, for that matter. The person who is perpetually trying to get his wishes fulfilled through the agency of someone else, instead of by personal effort, is rarely missing in any average group. Since the infant must be fed we cannot avoid the formation of the image, but we can certainly avoid reinforcing it by an over-indulgent attitude and too much waiting on the child during the years immediately following infancy. In the second place there is the development of the mouth as an important libido path, and this merits more extended examination.

Inwardly and outwardly the oral cavity is to serve some of the most important purposes of the entire human organism. Outwardly it will be the chief path for the expression of ideas. This means much more than merely a convenience, much more than merely a piece of apparatus for the speeding of practical details of group life; it means a most important outlet for the emotions. The angry child should up to a certain point be permitted to scream, if it likes, for it is getting valuable relief. A thoroughly "talked out" quarrel will often leave little of wrath remaining. Spoken words, as an expression of friendship or love, are tremendously valuable to speaker as well as to hearer. In psychoanalysis a complex group of mixed emotions,

repressed since childhood, may be given indispensable discharge through being thoroughly discussed. Similarly, in full confession of error or guilt there is frequently a great relief. The fervent speech of the patriot is a path through which flows freely his love for his country. Songs or bursts of cheering will give adequate outlet to the accumulated emotion of a crowd. The shouts of wrathful disappointment at a baseball game, would, if forcibly repressed, leave some of the onlookers in a dangerously charged state of temper.

Inwardly, the emotional receptivity of the mouth may be considered under three heads. There is the reflex effect upon the succeeding portions of the alimentary canal, the taste of desired food being stimulative to the secretions of the stomach, while that of something very unpleasant may result in a protectively emissive reaction. This is scarcely to be classed as emotional, yet there may be an emotional affect associated with it. Then there are the direct pleasurable sensations of taste, which in the case of gourmands certainly reach the plane of emotion although of a low grade. And finally there is the unquestionably emotional significance of the lips. In the mere act of nursing there is an entirely sufficient —indeed often too great—development of this emotional path. Giving the baby a rubber nipple, as a "comforter," is to my mind unwise. In the first place, unless the "comforter" is regularly sterilized as often as used, which means several times a day,

it is a positive danger as a carrier of germs. But, more than this, its use greatly over-stimulates the autistic, pleasure-getting, emotional capacity of the mouth, and this is distinctly undesirable. Nothing could be more thoughtlessly illogical than to accustom a child to the autoerotic pleasure of the ever accessible "comforter," and later smear its thumbs with vinegar to prevent its sucking them. If the latter habit is to be regarded as something to be repressed, why inculcate the desire? We want the grown child to have an adequate liking for food, but we certainly do not want it to have an over-developed oral emotional craving. Incidentally, it is of passing interest to note that association experiments have shown that not infrequently excessive smoking has partial roots in an oral libido image formed during infancy.

Let us consider next the images that may be formed in handling. A young kitten is quite content in the nest provided by its mother unless it becomes accustomed to being taken in people's laps, petted, and played with; in which case it soon becomes dependent upon that sort of attention and gives evidence of craving it. Similarly, if a baby is incessantly being taken in arms, talked to, petted, played with, it quickly develops an insistent demand for attention. The care of the child thereupon grows more and more burdensome. But if this reacted only upon parents the matter might be dismissed without comment. Unfortunately, however,

it has far more serious consequences. One of the most desirable qualities in a human being is resourcefulness. We shall not have resourceful children if we implant, during their infancy, habits of constant dependence upon others. Moreover, in thus arousing and stimulating, at far too early an age, the pleasurable emotions associated with being caressed and fondled, a parent is throwing the emotional apparatus out of gear with the all too frequent result of a neurotic and hypersensitive child. Dozens of times I have heard women remark, "A baby is the most fascinating thing in the world to play with." Would that someone with the tongue of an angel might also make them realize that a baby is the easiest thing in the world to injure for life; and that the mother who, consciously or unconsciously, thinks of her baby as a plaything, is to that extent its worst enemy!

The baby, while it *is* a baby, should be allowed to grow as nearly as possible in an atmosphere of unemotional quiet. Its comfort should be looked after with the utmost care, and whenever its position is to be changed, or it is to be taken in arms, there should be the gentlest and tenderest touch; but lavish caressing, petting and excitement, should be positively ruled out. They are more than unnecessary, they are wrong. The infant's image of the contacts with others should be one of assurance, tenderness, strength, tranquillity,—not extravagant emotion, excitement and nervous exhibition. For

these images are to be wrought into response-models which will tend to prevail throughout life, affecting not only the later relation of child and parent, but the relation to others.

Quite early in the baby's life some antipathies are likely to develop. Often it is well-nigh impossible to trace their origin. It may be that the first time a certain voice is heard it is not, by contrast with the softer voice of the mother or nurse, agreeable. It may be that the touch of a hand is cold to the sensitive skin. Sometimes the mere fact of disturbance is irritating. The perceptive paths of both eye and ear are, in many babies, extremely sensitive and capable of exciting sharp affects of fear or discomfort from very slight cause. The sense of taste, during the first few months, has a very limited range of gratification, and it seems to have, even during this early period, a close connection with the sense of smell. Antipathies developed through these two senses may well be the cause of a child's persistent refusal of certain foods in later years. Often, of course, it is impossible to avoid the circumstances which give rise to antipathies, but with our present understanding of the force of affect-images and response-models, we can intelligently guard against many of them, and it is exceedingly worth while to do so. It requires very little thought to modulate a voice, or take care not to make a sudden and startling appearance, or to avoid touching the warm and sensitive skin of a baby with cold hands or un-

sympathetic contact. And such care may be the means of avoiding an antipathy which years cannot entirely eradicate.

I have known one father who was both distressed and puzzled by the fact that his little son showed frequent signs of a wish to avoid him, in spite of the fact that the father was kindly and indulgent toward all his children. A brief history showed that during the little boy's infancy the father had often playfully made alarming faces at him and greeted him with a loud "Boo!" under the impression that "it was good for the kids to learn early not to be afraid." The difficulty can be overcome, but it need never have been originated. The feeling of complete responsiveness, confidence, and trust, may be surely implanted by care and patience. The door of every nursery should be protected by an inviolable commandment that the occupant of the room shall at all times receive precisely the gentleness and respect which would be accorded to an honored guest.

Finally, it may not be amiss to suggest here the importance of remembering that, to some extent at least, it is highly probable that the mind—and possibly something of the physical organism—of a child is impressionable before birth as well as after. Except for the addition of a few new experiences, there is no essential difference in the brain of a child the day after birth from the day before. A part, at least, of the central station has been functioning,

has been able to register affects and make some sort of response to them. Interesting observations have been made which suggest that while the mother's wish for a boy or a girl cannot determine the *sex* it may have something to do with the later behavior of the child *as imitating* the desired sex. The well developed boy is not so likely to simulate girlish behavior, but many apparently well developed girls show "tom-boy" characteristics at an early age.

I have two clear histories of the latter type in which the mother not only wished strongly for a boy but throughout the entire term of pregnancy persisted in regarding it as certain that the child would be male, and even called it by a masculine name. In both cases a healthy and vigorous girl was born and in early childhood developed decidedly boyish behavior. The evidence available is too fragmentary to indicate any conclusions, but it is well to be on the safe side and wait until Nature has showed her hand. With more definite assurance, indeed most definite, it may be said that for several months before confinement the mother should to the utmost possible extent avoid excitement or excessive emotion, and should direct her thoughts, particularly her imagination, along lines of cheerful, forward-looking, constructiveness. Quarrelling and anger should be placed under a most rigid taboo. These things are not always easy of accomplishment, but they constitute a goal worth the most determined effort.

FROM FIRST TO SEVENTH YEAR

"Give us the child for the first seven years," say the Hindoo philosophers, "and the rest of his life will belong to Buddha!" This is perfectly sound psychology of the Unconscious. These are the years during which the primitive Unconscious is going through the three phases of dominance, compromise, and repression. During the first part of the period it is dominant. The child is not a cultural, but an instinctive-primitive being. It wishes freely in any direction and has no inhibition against the expression of its wishes and the effort to make them come true. Its self is the center of the world, and evaluation of other people and other things is based on their relation to itself. In the broadest sense it is a complete egoist in its tendencies, rather than a coöperative being. If some other child has a plaything which seems desirable, the response is the simplest and the shortest cut toward possession; either to reach for it or to howl for it. Obviously, the two steps of cultural advance from this reaction would be, first, to get pleasure from seeing the plaything without possessing it, and second, to get pleasure from another's pleasure in possessing it, but these two steps require years of successful repression and cultural practice. During this period of dominance of the Unconscious, the strongest emotional affects are likely to be associated with the wish for complete possession of one or both of the

parents; and the failure to achieve this complete possession is often marked by extreme disappointment, jealousy, and sometimes decidedly resentful anger. The triangular family situations which result may be of profound importance to the child's later years, and should be given most careful study and patient working out.

It is in no sense a child's fault, nor is it any indication whatever of a "bad disposition," that it should try to possess what it wants and should be resentful when balked. The child is merely a natural animal; it is capable of extraordinary cultural and spiritual growth, but it is an animal nevertheless. It is not sinfulness, but simple nature, which makes a two-year-old boy snatch away the plaything it wants and crudely use its fist if the other child resists. The same is true when it clings to its mother and perhaps bitterly resents her embracing the father when he comes home from business. If the father in turn shows resentment—which he sometimes does—when the mother appears to give more of her affection to the child than she does to him, he may well ask himself how far he has succeeded in repressing his own infantile Unconscious. Intelligent thought and coöperation between the parents can bring the child through this period with the minimum of difficulty in repression, and maximum of easy adjustment. In the first place, let us remember that we do not want to repress by force any more than is absolutely neces-

sary, and never by violence unless no other course will fit the emergency.

If a child tries to snatch things from others, or to use its fists, let it see in the mother's face neither anger nor half-amused tolerance; but quiet, firm disapproval. Let the child at once be removed to another room and kept there for a time without playthings. It is an excellent plan for the mother to sit in the room also, paying no attention to the child and maintaining the expression of disapproval and regret. If every transgression is met by this image of isolation, quiet disapproval, and the suggestion of sorrow and disappointment, if this image is impressed *without fail,* its significance will soon become unmistakable. Particularly to be recommended is the presence of the mother in the room *because the suggestion of her attitude is invaluable.* The image of punishment should never be merely the triumph of superior physical force. It should, if possible, always include segregation from the group *with visible disapproval and sorrow by the child's strongest emotional object in the group.*

Straightening out the triangle situation calls for something entirely different, however, from punishment or disapproval. We must not forget that the child's attachment to parents forms its first love-images; and as these have the highest emotional intensity they will be most deeply implanted, so that the love efforts of later life tend to follow the models of childhood. In our study of the case of conversion

hysteria we saw that our patient's infantile love feeling became conditioned with deprivation, jealousy, anger, sense of loss, resentment, protest, hatred of another, frustration, and a sense of helplessness. It goes without saying that these are undesirable associations for the love impulse; and nearly all of them might have been avoided by understanding and care on the mother's part. If parents will seriously endeavor to put themselves in the child's place, and remember that the child is without any of their experience in adjusting to the difficulties of life, they can make the child's path easy. Observation convinces me that comparatively few families are without this problem in greater or less degree. The traces of desire to possess, of favoritism, of jealousies and resentments, are common.

The first principle on which to determine parental conduct is justice. Neither father nor mother, having accepted the responsibility of children, has any right to let personal preference either govern the conduct or noticeably affect it. Often this requires a degree of earnest self-study and self-control. It is not easy to inhibit a natural leaning toward one particular child who peculiarly appeals. Equally it is difficult sometimes to avoid irritation, or a sort of jealousy, over the possessive striving and marked preference which a child may evince toward the other parent; but justice, understanding, self-restraint, and patience, will surely right the situation.

Next to justice I would place discretion. Of love

in the adult sense the child has not the slightest conception. It is to receive its images from the actions of parents. Let their conduct when in its presence express affection in terms within the child's experience and comprehension. Particularly if the child shows signs of jealousy or disturbance, there should be the utmost care not to excite these reactions by emotional demonstrations in its presence. The intimate personal life of the parents should be private, at least until the child has reached an age of adjustment and understanding.

Birth, weaning, and adolescence, are the three definitive steps which signalize the separation of a new individual from an older one, with progressive attachment to the outer world. During the weaning period the mother will do her child the greatest service if she will by every possible means stimulate its desire for, and pride in, self-reliance. She can do this by such means as letting disappointment be apparent when the child insists on being fed by her instead of using its spoon independently, and by expressing approval and pleasure when the child voluntarily does things for itself. She may find that this requires much self-denial, for there is a strong inherent tendency on the part of the mother to continue the habit of personal service to the thing which was so lately a part of her, but the final goal is a resourceful and self-reliant child, and it is worth the sacrifice of one's personal pleasure.

With the beginnings of discipline there is need

for still further thought and understanding. One must keep always in mind both that a child is essentially imitative and that it has neither experience nor judgment. When it knocks its plate to the floor for the first time it cannot know that the plate will break, nor can it know why people should appear disturbed over the breakage and fail to join in its delighted crow over the clatter. To its primitive mind the crash and the flying pieces are quite an achievement. It has applied power to its environment and got most visible and notable results. Why should those huge beings, who tower above it, suddenly make wrinkles in the skins of their foreheads, and make queer clucking noises with their mouths? Alas, the process of repressing one's primitive responses to primitive affects, and getting in line with the will of the group, is about to begin! How fast shall it be carried forward? How energetic shall be the measures of discipline?

The answers to both these questions must depend upon the individual child. No two are exactly alike in tractability or disposition. One is sensitive, another phlegmatic; one responds instantly to affection, another only to firmness; one comprehends early the use and purpose of discipline, another maintains a persistent and determined resistance to it. The idea of any fixed scheme of discipline applicable to all children seems to me as unsound as our present method of grouping all in grade classes at school regardless of difference in talent and ability. Cer-

tain principles, however, may be clearly and assuredly outlined as desirable, and as likely to avoid serious errors.

1. A child should never, under any circumstances, be punished in anger. The image is merely one of wrath and superior power—in short of a stronger person wreaking emotional vengeance upon a weaker. The only justifiable theory of punishment is that it will assist the child in remembering, and that it will add a reinforcing, not a paralyzing, fear of hurting others and removing one's self from coöperative harmony with the group.

2. Punishment should be for disobedience only, never for mere lack of knowledge or judgment. A two-year-old, who for the first time decorates her frock with the contents of a bottle of ink, is not guilty of anything but inexperience. She needs reprimand to help her remember. Now if she repeats the act there will be some point in administering punishment, because she has disobeyed—she has interrupted the "team play" of the family—and at the earliest possible age she should be made to understand this difference. It will then be possible very soon to point out to her the inadvisability of trying experiments without asking advice.

3. The point of discipline is to secure effective coöperation. Simple methods and illustrations should be worked out, and stories devised, which will replace the "king and subject" image of the average fairy tale with a simple concept of the state, and of the

father and mother as representatives of the state in the home. *If this were generally done, and if fathers and mothers in their entire attitude showed unfailing respect for the state and the law, we should soon see an end of the lawlessness of American children.* Switzerland, for example, can show us something in this direction which we should do well to learn. Swiss children show high respect for law, as well as for the person and property of others. In this they reflect the attitude of their fathers and mothers.

4. The child should never be punished in a way that will hurt its physical being, or, as the term is, "break its spirit." A broken spirit means that a child has been *cowed,* either by excessive pain or fear. The image thus formed may have most disastrous consequences in later life. Persistence and patience will finally get results without violence, and the results thus obtained are beneficial and progressive.

If a child shows prolonged resistance to discipline, amounting to a definite inability to make its conduct harmonize with that of organized society, the parents should have a competent endocrinologist examine it for possible glandular unbalance. Many "incorrigible" children are merely suffering from endocrine disorder. Pathological lying and stealing for example, are frequently associated with pituitary or thyroid excess or insufficiency, and correction of these glands may result in a tractable, happy child, with fine mental ability. In my opinion, the time is not

far distant when glandular examination will be as definite a rule with the children as dental examination is now, and the results will be of tremendous value to society as well as to the child. *Particularly after an infectious disease is there likelihood that one or more of the endocrine glands will function faultily.* Gradual recovery usually follows, but there is always the possibility of permanent ill effect.

Many points of valuable study come under the head of imitativeness and not infrequently they touch on discipline. As before remarked, the child is without experience. If it sees you go to the ice-box and take out something to eat or drink, what more natural than that, at the first opportunity, it should follow suit? Suppose it resists going to the nursery at bedtime, and its mother adopts a ruse, assuring it that if it will come along without crying or being naughty *she will not put it to bed but will show it pictures,* and suppose that she then prepares it for bed while letting it look at pictures. There is quite sure to be trouble when the pictures are taken away and the actual bedtime moment comes. Meanwhile, what has the child learned, except that it cannot trust the word of its elders and that a lie is regarded by them as perfectly permissible if only something can be gained by it? How much better from the very first, to ignore the protest, take the child to the nursery and put it to bed, paying not the slightest attention to its anger except to show sorrow and disapproval. This attitude, steadily maintained, will

eventually fix in the child's mind that there is an orderly sequence of events which does not change, and that protest against the law of order only results in disapproval and estrangement from the object of its love. Certainly this is better than learning to evade issues and to lie.

Probably all of us in one way or another evade the truth to an extent perceptible to a child. It may not be intentional, but the evasion is there. Now a parent cannot expect standards in a child which are not maintained as the definite rule of life throughout the entire household. Nothing is more footless than to demand of a child that it be truthful, orderly, gentle, and considerate of others, unless we ourselves are living these attributes as a daily, constant, example. And what we make a rule for ourselves we should make a rule as to the child's neighborhood companions, and make no bones about letting the other children know precisely where we stand. Two or three unruly children allowed as playmates can keep the most intelligent parents busy trying to neutralize their activities. What America needs more than Sewing Societies is Neighborhood Councils of Mothers, which will really study the psychology of children and put the findings into practice.

Imitatively the child will also acquire chiefly in its home, such things as language, bearing, manner toward others, habits of order or disorder. But important as these are, they have but minor significance when compared to the family-relationship, and

family-conduct models, which may so powerfully influence and determine the adult mating life. Nothing is more acutely observed by a child, nothing more strongly conditions its idea of adult love, than the attitude of its parents toward each other. The little boy who sees the father treat the mother with unfailing courtesy, consideration and affection, acquires in his childhood years an invaluable set of images for reproduction in his adult life. The little girl who sees her mother indifferent and casual with respect to her home is quite likely to be in turn a poor mate and indifferent helpmeet. The father who shows little or no respect for his wife may expect that his sons will tend strongly to imitate him both in their attitude toward girls, and later, in their attitude toward women in general and toward their own wives. The mother who dominates and frets her husband is quite likely to see her daughters later select men of inferior type whom they in turn can dominate.

The desirable situation as a model for children is one of equal companionship; but there should be a clear maintenance of sex differentiation. The woman of the household may be in some instances much better fitted to "wear the trousers" than is the husband, but let her not forget that her conduct is likely to give a strong bent to that of both her sons and her daughters. She does not want her sons to select women who will dominate them, or her daughters to develop strongly masculine traits; that

is to say, she does not want these results if she honestly cares for the future happiness of her children. A touring car will not long run well as a truck, nor will a fine piano keep its tune if used in circus parades; which merely means that a machine —or an organism—is best adapted to the purpose for which it was designed and constructed. Economic conditions not considered, the feminine organism functions best in the world as a woman, the masculine organism as a man. The mixed type is at a disadvantage from every point of view. (An interesting part of Adler's theory is that the average child finds the world much more a man's world than a woman's world, and that this accounts for the "masculine striving" of many girls. It should be noted, however, that his observations are of life in Austria, and the Germanic situation of women is far different from that of America.)

Keeping faith is an image which the child needs held before it steadily and unfailingly during its earliest years. This involves more than merely setting an example of truthfulness. It implies promising nothing which one does not intend to make good, and making good every promise. It includes never betraying a child's trust, and never failing a child in its need of understanding. The trust of a child is the most implicit—and, to my way of thinking, the most beautiful—thing in the world. It can be made the means of almost unlimited character development; but once betrayed it is half gone, and

twice betrayed it is likely to be wholly withdrawn. I have known a young woman who until the age of ten had regarded her mother as a twin soul. At that age, she committed a childish folly, which in her trouble of mind she confessed to her mother. The latter expressed most unnecessarily exaggerated horror and punished her with great severity. From that day, the daughter's life has been to the mother an absolutely closed book. The younger the child the greater its need of understanding and instant readiness to help.

And while on this subject, I cannot forbear a suggestion to the person who gives religious instruction to children. If God is worth telling a child about, He is certainly worth telling about in such terms that the child will not at the very outset lose faith in Him. I doubt very much if Christ would have told the children that God would answer their prayers, and then left in their immature minds the impression that they had only to ask Him for what they wanted and they would get it. Yet that, precisely, is what I find that many children understand they have been told about prayer. They do pray for what they want, they do not get it, and their faith in God suffers accordingly. From their point of view somebody has not kept faith with them; they have been deceived and disappointed. Moreover, I know a little girl who was told in Sunday School that if she saved her pennies and gave them to the mission fund, God

would be pleased with her and would give her a "glad heart." She did as instructed, and after saving and giving for a month complained that she not only had not received a glad heart but had had no candy.

Now these results are serious: they may not only discredit religion in the child's mind, but sow seeds of distrust with regard to teaching in general. And they are utterly unnecessary. The concept of religion may be made of inestimable service to a child. But the method of teaching it should be adapted to a child's capacity to understand.

Mention should be made in this connection of the devastating effect of implanting unnecessary fear. I have known a boy of highly nervous temperament who developed an acute neurosis, in which the outstanding symptom was a terror lest he should die and go to hell. It is to be hoped that God will have more mercy on the people who implanted that fear than a medical psychologist would have.

The whole subject of morbid fears and obsessions is worthy of the most careful study by parents of sensitive children. It would require a much more extended treatment than is possible here. Suffice it to say that the badly and frequently frightened child is a hurt child and is likely to carry some of its effects for years. In a lesser degree excessive teasing is also to be condemned, if the child's reaction to it shows any keen disturbance. Particularly to be

avoided is any strong sense of helplessness or defeat. These, going into repression, leave unsquared emotional affects that are highly undesirable.

In the chapter on the Libido and control of the will, attention was directed to "autistic" pleasure. It will perhaps make the idea clearer if this form of pleasure is spoken of here as "auto-erotic." It is characteristic of the infantile stage of development when the Self is the dominating factor in consciousness, and it includes the whole group of activities which express interest in, and efforts to get pleasure from, one's own body. If these interests and activities are excessive during the early years, they are quite likely to recrudesce later and produce the Libido pattern which was shown under the head of "Introvert." This means a misdirection of energy and a turning of the life toward the most useless of false goals.

I do not propose to engage here in an extended discussion of the harmful ways in which a child may handle its own body, but to point out the underlying psychological principle and its significance. Within reasonable limits a child's interest in, and curiosity about, its own body, serves valuable developmental purposes; and this should by no means be met by signs of aversion or intense repression by parents. Indeed the very fact of any strongly stressed repression only serves to over-emphasize in the child's mind the importance of its auto-erotic actions, stimulates curiosity, and intensifies the desire for further

experiment in the forbidden field. The best corrective is foresight. The body of a baby should from the day of birth be treated with the same respect and the same gentle *but impersonal* touch that a physician gives his patient. There is a period after the baby's bath when the temptation is certainly strong, particularly when several months' development has produced the charming infant contours, to let the little thing lie and kick in its state of nudity and to pat and caress the rosy skin. Let us not forget, however, that every such occurrence forms an image of pleasure associated with exhibitionism and auto-eroticism; and let us be sure; 1st, that we do not exaggerate or prolong the image; 2d, that we do not continue the practise as the child's mind becomes more keenly impressionable. Many parents may object that it is a pity to deprive the child of these joyous half hours; but this is no more logical than to say it would be a pity to deprive the child, at three or four years of age, of the pleasure we may see it get from undesirable handling of its own body.

Our goal for a child is a completely normal manhood or womanhood and we have no right to help it form pleasure-images and pleasure-models of exhibitionism and auto-eroticism. If these develop strongly *of themselves* during the early years, they should be met, correctively, with quiet, unemotional disapproval, and constructively by teaching early an understanding of, and reverence for, the true pur-

poses of the body. In this connection it will be found of great value to educate the child as early as possible in the difference between achievement striving and the procurement of pleasure autistically —in brief, progressively to educate in operation of the wish-force (will).

This calls for replacement of one idea with another, and in all educational and disciplinary effort the method will be found of great value, particularly during the compromise and adjustment stages when the primitive wishes are gradually going into repression. Merely to stop a child *by force* from doing a forbidden thing, does not change either *the idea* or *the wish* which prompted the act. The child learns nothing from the experience except that its power was insufficient to carry out its momentary program. There should be careful explanation, in terms which the child can understand (a fable or story invented for the purpose may help to make things clear), and stimulation of wishes to coöperate and to progress in the esteem of the group.

Parents can help to develop constructive imagination in their children by frequently expressing admiration for the achievements of other children; but when doing so there should be no such mistake as making comparisons. The child is perfectly capable of making the comparisons for itself. To have them forced on it, particularly if they are unflattering, only arouses jealousy and resentment; so that instead of a constructive suggestion working in the Unconscious *there is only implanted a sense of inferiority.*

Closely associated with imitativeness is the tendency of the child to *identify* itself with an older person. Usually this person will be one of the parents, less often a nurse, or an older brother or sister. The identification is generally quite unconscious, but its growth may be detected by the more and more marked effort at similarity of conduct. In the average case, there is no such thing as escaping it entirely; nor is this desirable, provided the person selected as the identification object supplies a good pattern of adjustment to people and to the activities of life. But it is not well that this identification should be too strongly fixed or too emotionally toned. The girl who identifies herself too strongly with her father is quite sure to develop masculine characteristics and thus partially inhibit her adaptability to her feminine rôle in the world. Similarly, the boy may develop feminine attributes if too closely identified, in his Unconscious, with his mother.

Examining more deeply into this mechanism we find, as it were, the possibility of a double curve. Identification arises from admiration and love. Both the admiration and the love may for many reasons be so strongly repressed that they actually appear on the surface as their exact opposites.

This possible ambivalence, or "two-faced" quality, of emotions, is well recognized. The following quotation from Wilfrid Lay's valuable book, *The Child's Unconscious Mind,* will help to convey a clear impression; "Love and hate are . . . ambivalent toward each other. Not only does one approve and

disapprove another person for qualities some of which are bad and others good, as every one is a mixture of qualities good and bad, but one instinctively (that is, unconsciously) loves and hates the same person at the same time wholly and completely. The convertibility of the one emotion so quickly and easily into its opposite is sufficient proof of the fundamental ambivalence of all emotions . . . and if the emotions must have some mental content quite as much as movements of the body require some physical opposition it is quite conceivable that if the outlet for these activities towards a person is dammed in one way, say the love way, it will seek expression in the opposite way. . . . And with respect to the vehement attention given in love there can be no other way, if love is denied, than vehement hate. *Indifference would simply mean directing the emotional activities toward another person. . . .*"*

It is in these last eleven words, and their corollary, that we find the key. Love and hate are exactly similar in that they signify concentrated emotional attention upon an object, and indicate that indifference to that object is impossible; in other words that the object is a point of emotional attraction. Now the *over-intensified* love of a boy for his mother, or a girl for her father, is conditioned with an *unconscious* wish to *replace the other parent.* This is the natural, primitive possessive wish of the in-

* *The Child's Unconscious Mind,* by Wilfrid Lay. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

fantile Unconscious. It encounters a developing cultural understanding, which is at a higher level, and it is forced into repression. But, having a high energy capacity, it is frequently excited, and produces conflict.

We may have, for example, the boy, who is strongly fixed on his mother, unconsciously striving both to be like her, his model, and to be like the father whom he wishes to replace. This impractical model may, later, make successful and happy mating well-nigh impossible. Now successful mating is one of the very strongest reinforcements of the personality. It is the chief biological goal of the individual as well as the basis of organized society; and whatever in a child's life will tend to interfere with it is worthy of the most earnest thought and every possible precaution. When a child shows pronounced special attachment, the temptation to respond is naturally strong, but the situation should be treated with regard for the future rather than for one's impulses. The signs of fixation should be watched for, and by every possible means the parents should endeavor both to keep the child's emotional interest well sublimated in its play and study, and well divided between father and mother. Preventively the parents may accomplish much by *restraining themselves* from lavish caressing or excessive display of emotion with a child at any stage of its growth, and let them have no fear that this course will cost them anything of the child's love. That

affection is neither the deepest nor the most loyal which makes the most extravagant display.

With the life of the street and the life of the school come the parent's opportunity for new lines of observation and helpfulness. The critical question should always be, "How is our child adjusting to the outside world?" It is a law of life that adjustment must come mainly from the individual. The problem is to reach a working basis with the herd and yet not sacrifice the individuality

The instinctive effort of the herd is to level down, to discourage anything that is superior to its own average unless that superiority can be maintained by physical prowess. The sensitive child, particularly if possessed of strong individuality, is likely to find the going rough. The first effort should be to find simple ways of explaining how the human group is organized, the value of coöperation, and the necessity for tactful compromise when there are differences of opinions and contending wishes among playmates. Children are surprisingly apt at grasping the rudiments of coöperation. Some of them will not "play fair," and certainly there is no way in which quarrelling or resentments can be avoided, but the parent's own attitude can do much to assuage the hurt of these, and to suggest ways of avoiding them as time goes on. Suppose that Johnny, after a game of marbles with Charles, comes into the house and indignantly declares that Charles has cheated. It does not adequately meet the situation

merely to comfort Johnny and to assure him that Charles is a "bad boy." The incident is one which is to be paralleled many times through life, in games far more important than marbles. Why not suggest that Johnny invite Charles to lunch; and then during lunch encourage both of them to talk it over? If necessary try to secure the coöperation of Charles' parents. I have seen one such example measurably affect the conduct of an entire neighborhood group. It replaces a set of destructive ideas with constructive and progressive ones. It replaces the primitive reactions with those which are cultural.

Quarrels lead progressively to the first fight; an experience which with the boy, is in a sense epochal. If it results in victory there is a decided reinforcement of the ego, desirable to the extent that it encourages fearless contact with future menace, but highly undesirable in its model of the resort to violence as a means of settling differences of opinion, and equally undesirable if it is followed by boastfulness and a tendency to domineer. Defeat, on the other hand, may result in deep discouragement and a most hurtful feeling of inferiority.

Both father and mother will do the boy a great service if they will encourage him to talk the whole thing over with them afterward, being careful not to emotionalize the event in any way, making clear their acceptance of the necessity of defending one's self, but by no means encouraging aggression, and pointing out the general uselessness and destructive-

ness of human combat. I have found that a strong impression can be made by likening a fist-fight to the back-yard battles of cats and dogs; the child's Ego Maximation instantly suggesting a desire for conduct superior to that of the lesser animals. In case of defeat, care should be taken to emphasize that it is perfectly impossible to win all one's battles in life, just as it is impossible to win all one's games; that no one expects a child to do either, and that in the long run people admire and respect a courageous loser quite as much as the fortunate victor, provided always that he has done his best. It is important not only to remove the sting of defeat, but to give full discharge to any brooding resentment, which otherwise, repressed into the Unconscious, may have harmful and disturbing effects.

To multiply examples is not necessary, since always the principle in helping the child toward adjustment to its playmates is the same; to encourage thorough discussion, and to examine each situation with reference to later adult life.

No less important than the foregoing are the methods to be adopted in connection with what the child learns in the street about the procreative functions. Let no mother deceive herself. Unless a child is segregated from society, the chances are considerably more than even that before the age of eight years it will have begun to get, in one way or another, usually undesirable, a group of distorted ideas about its sex organism. Considering the

authoritative warnings that have been given, it would seem that this fact might have been by this time not only widely assimilated by parents, *but as widely acted upon.* Yet one is constantly encountering personal histories which prove that exactly the contrary is the case. Fathers and mothers continue to evade the issue; and the oncoming generation pays the price. The time to inculcate reverence for the future possibilities and higher purposes of the human body is while the mind is yet unsullied by noxious ideas with regard to it.

There is no necessity for elaborate anatomical explanations. These can come later, little by little, as the child's capacity to understand details increases with its desire for more thorough knowledge. I have found that a child of eight years is perfectly able to appreciate the beauty of plant and flower reproduction. I have also found no difficulty in giving it a concept of a certain portion of its own body as a trust which is to be respected for the future, and in making it understand why the bodies of children of the other sex are equally to be held in respect. First of all, there must be implicit trust as well as unhindered frankness and confidence between child and parents. This is indispensable if the father and mother hope to be kept informed of just what influences are at work among the other children of the neighborhood; and hence if they hope to meet and counteract the noxious ideas which may be encountered from time to time.

Above all, a child should never be met with falsehood or evasion, since these are not only a breach of faith but simply add to the subject, by their atmosphere of mystery, an intensified curiosity and interest. The most serious aspect of the matter is that in which the child has actually acquired habits of getting autistic pleasure from improper handling of its body. Parents who discover that this situation has arisen, frequently make the mistake of meeting it with a lecture on sinfulness, or with severe punishment. Both methods are likely to be harmful and are wholly inadequate to meet the child's need. The procedure should be; 1st, thorough enlightenment, being careful not to emotionalize the situation or implant exaggerated fear; 2d, give the child a new and finer vision of its body in a creative sense; 3d, stimulate, in every possible way, the imagination of strong, victorious self-control; 4th, implant frequently and regularly a series of progressive suggestions, and teach the child reflective autosuggestion.

Turning briefly to the subject of school life, I propose to offer a few suggestions which I have reason to believe will be found helpful, but which I shall not discuss at great length because once embarked on the sea of educational psychology one has no choice but to make a long, and for the most part, poorly charted voyage. Under our present educational system, the teacher in a public school has to deal with classes of such size that an individual

study of each pupil is a manifest impossibility. This is not the fault of the teacher but of ourselves, since we as citizens are responsible for our own institutions. But accepting, for the time being, the situation as it is, we may profitably consider whether we are doing all that is in our power to get the most out of the present system.

To what extent have we prepared the child for school before it enters? Have we made it realize that it is part of a great people and a great nation, and that the school is the nation's nursery? Have we set it athirst for reading, by frequently suggesting and describing the wonders that are hidden from it in books? Have we made numbers its playthings by constructing fascinating games out of them? Have we made it want geography by entertaining it with pictures and stories of the strange lands and peoples—always being careful to associate these with the name "geography"? Have we steadily and persistently suggested our admiration for other boys and girls who show progress in the use of their brains? (I do not at all mean by this to imply that we should hold them up as examples, or draw comparisons. I mean that by the frequent interchange of remarks *between themselves* in a child's hearing, parents can implant strong suggestion. The chief requisite is persistence.) Have we made it clear that we regard teachers as potentially the nation's most valuable citizens, worthy of all respect and coöperation? And finally have we been scrupulously

careful never to let the child hear us speak slightingly of a teacher or a school, or hear us recount with amusement any incident of our own school-days which would have the same effect?

Most important perhaps in the constructive program implied by these questions, is preparing the child for the new relationship of pupil-and-teacher. It is best that this relationship should be thought of at first as impersonal. The teacher is the nation's representative. Personalization is bound to occur, but it should not be the predominant idea. Three most unfortunate questions to ask a child on its return after the first day in school are, "Do you like your teacher?" "Is your teacher nice?" and "Do you like school?" The suggestion attached to each is one of doubt and half expectant negation. How much better the suggestion in a greeting like this: "Well, you've had a fine change from home life. I'm sure you're going to like it better and better every day!" Which may well be followed with, "Your teacher has a very trying time getting things under way, at the start. Do help her in every way that you can!"

To get the child off on the right foot with the teacher is always half the battle. If the progress of events shows, as weeks go by, that the adjustment is a poor one, the teacher should be visited and the matter thoroughly gone into. Model-formation is in process which may affect the child's entire career in school and college.

The early sublimation trends would be detected

by a trained psychologist during the kindergarten year; and by the time the second grade year is well under way they are sufficiently clear to be perceived even by the untrained observer. They supply valuable indicators of the activities of the Unconscious, and their correct interpretation is as valuable as it is interesting. Taken in conjunction with the child's dream-life, they are from day to day outlining the complete history of the Unconscious wishes as these are brought into working compromise with the Cultural and finally go into successful repression. It is a pity that the technique of analyzing dreams cannot be a part of every mother's equipment, for it could be made of priceless service, but unfortunately it requires specialized study and experimental training; in fact its practice without thorough scientific preparation can only result in futility and sometimes disastrous mistakes; and there are probably not fifty people in America today who are capable of teaching it correctly.

The intelligent parent can, however, readily see the sublimation significance of such interests as are given in the following examples:

A. Aptitude and dexterity in the use of numbers. The underlying Unconscious urge may be; I. Interest in, and desire for combination. The young child partially *identifies itself* with all objects of interest; hence in putting one and one together it has raised to a high level of usefulness its Unconscious phantasy of itself in relation to another. II. Ego Maxima-

tion. In addition and multiplication it finds ready symbols of growth and increased power. In subtraction—*taking the smaller from the larger*—there is clear evidence of the power of the smaller (the child itself), since it invariably reduces the power of the larger. In division, again, is a similar play of the relation of smaller (child) to larger (parent).

B. Manual dexterity and specialization. The fingers are the first power symbols. They also become early associated with both pleasure and guilt. They are the means of grasping desired objects. They are used by the baby to palliate the cravings of approaching hunger and to gratify a pleasure-sense of the mouth. They are reproved, and sometimes punished, for touching forbidden things. In employing them for purposes which win esteem and approval there are sublimation and compensation of most valuable sort, emphatically to be encouraged by every means.

C. Special fondness for inventing and writing little sketches, compositions, etc. In this activity we see a child turning to good account its tendency toward day-dreaming. The phantasy-forming impulse is being lifted from introverted waste of energy to extroverted achievement. The highly imaginative child is creative and sensitive. It should receive praise and encouragement at every successful effort to turn its imagination into productive channels.

There is considerable difference of opinion, among students of child psychology, as to whether the imagination should or should not be stimulated by telling fairy stories. To my mind the question turns not on the telling of fairy tales, but on the selection of the tales to be told. We must remember both that the child tends to identify itself with at least one character in a story, and that the stories are forming affect-images and response-models which will later color both ideas and conduct. Imagination should be actively *stimulated;* but it should also be quite as actively *directed.* Stories which are replete with witches and bloodthirsty giants who eat children, will stand quite a bit of thoughtful censoring. The same holds true for those which contain much killing. Analysis of children's dreams has shown me much disturbing material which came from these sources. On the other hand there are plenty of stories in which the images are excellent; provided always that the child understands that the stories *are stories;* in other words, that it is not allowed to confuse unreality with reality.

Recalling the chapter on suggestion, let us not forget that, whether we are conscious of it or not, a child is receiving suggestion from its first year onward, and is responding to it. Our words and actions alike are effective suggestions. Recognizing this fact we may make them, whenever in a child's presence, constructive, cheerful, forward looking.

Parents may steadily implant ideas of health, progress, adaptability to circumstances, thorough all-around education, busy and happy adult life, successful mating and home-making. The thing to bear in mind is that the most effective suggestion is at the *Unconscious level.* Much more can be accomplished by conversations between the parents in the child's hearing, than by telling the child their views, although the latter method may have its value.

As indicated at the beginning of this section, the first six or seven years constitute the period during which the Unconscious is passing through the three phases of dominance, compromise with the cultural, and final repression. There is no arbitrary line of division between this period and that which succeeds it, but the average child by the age of seven years has pretty well accepted the cultural striving of the group as its main rule of conduct. The best wish we can hold for it is that its repressions will have been made without undue effort and with no acute emotional problems unsolved.

FROM SEVEN TO PUBERTY

The importance of this stage as a formative period lies in the extroverted activities; the outwardly turned interests. More and more the repressed Unconscious is able to express itself only in symbols; the Fore-conscious is dominating and directing the conduct. With each added experience comes an

accretion to self reliance and resourcefulness. With independent thinking, an individual point of view develops. Often it is quite as illogical as it is immature, and all too frequently it is treated by parent or teacher with contempt and ridicule or dismissed as not worthy of consideration. This suppresses the child's opinion, but does not show wherein it is wrong. Moreover, such action discourages the very thing that should be most encouraged. The world is already full enough of people who cannot think for themselves, but must get their opinions from someone else. There is no reason to laugh at, or reprove, a child for thinking wrongly. Rather it should be congratulated that it does think; and the thought should be stimulated by frank discussion, not as elder to younger, or superior to inferior, but as equal to equal, friend to friend. The manner in which the parent calmly and dispassionately analyzes the topic under discussion will be of the very greatest service, conveying an unconscious suggestion of *how* to think.

The child in turn will be unconsciously revealing its mental methods. If, in spite of careful analysis and demonstration, a child still persists in a point of view which is obviously wrong, the parent, remembering that the wish is often father to the thought, will do well to consider what wish, conscious or unconscious, is being served by the child's resolute adherence to an idea that is contrary to evidence. Sometimes it will be discovered that the wish is noth-

ing more than an unconscious desire not to be mentally dominated by an elder. Sometimes it is merely stubbornness; which is frequently a compensation for unconscious weakness of one sort or another. Again it may be prompted by loyalty to a playmate, with whom the mistaken idea originated, and who is an object of peculiar affection and admiration. In the latter case, there should be a tactful effort to stimulate thinking independently of the companions, since it is even less desirable that a child should become dependent upon playmates for ideas than that it should remain dependent on its parents for them. In all such discussions, the attitude to be avoided is one of impatience or domination; likewise the attitude of, "I am older than you, hence I know all about this much better than you do." Calmness, respect, reason, and tolerance, are the models to establish; with confidence and trust as by-products.

Reference just made to special affection and loyalty toward a playmate, brings up the fact that *identifications,* previously discussed, are now taking place outside the family circle. It is no longer merely with father or mother, older brothers or sisters, but with other boys and girls, that the child identifies. This tendency, provided the objects chosen are of good character, is to be encouraged because it is a distinct advance in fixing the emotional interest on the outer world. The signs are readily perceived in imitativeness, and should not be overlooked, since there are possibilities of undesirable, as well as of beneficial,

identifications. Some of the harmful situations may be grouped as follows:

1. A boy identified with another boy whose influence is bad.

2. A girl identified with another girl whose influence is bad.

3. A boy identified with an older girl.

4. A girl identified with an older boy.

5. Either a boy or a girl identified with an undesirable character of fiction, stage, screen, or newspaper notoriety. (3 and 4 are usually precocious romance-developments, and the object is occasionally a man or woman, who stands as the substitute for an abandoned—i.e., repressed in the Unconscious—over-identification with a parent). Observation, and an occasional adroit question, will get the needed information, but the best corrective procedure is not so easy.

Here again a touch of sympathetic understanding will go farther than a blow of destructive criticism. In dealing with children, I have found it an excellent rule not to take away one idea until I had another ready to replace it; and the replacement idea is sure of acceptance only when it accords with some line of wish-tendencies already observed as active in the individual child's mind. Good can be substituted for bad, only if good is made equally, or more, attractive. Before a girl can be expected to abandon, for example, her imitation of an admired boy, it is necessary that she should really become convinced

that she *wields greater power* as a genuine girl than as an imitation boy. The Ego Maximation is brought into play and the imagination constantly stimulated toward a true goal. If the source of the identification is frothy literature, it may be necessary to take drastic measures of prophylaxis. There can hardly be a more unfortunate influence for growing boys and girls than a cheap detective story, the second-rate movie magazine, or the salacious news-stand novel. The mere fact that such reading matter does not appear in the family living room should by no means be accepted as proof that the child is not finding access to it elsewhere. At a school in Pennsylvania it was discovered that more than half the girls had for months been reading abominable pamphlets which were circulated secretly, and the source of supply remained a complete mystery until a girl confessed that she was procuring them from a cheap candy store.

In another instance a girl of eleven, who had always been modest and well conducted, suddenly began to appear in school with traces on her face of paint, powder and lip-rouge. These were carefully removed before arriving home again, but the general behavior showed affectedness, self-conscious allurement toward boys, and growing secretiveness. Investigation finally revealed a cunningly hidden collection of moving-picture magazines and the habit of slipping into, at every opportunity, a cheap cinema theatre in the near neighborhood. Coinci-

dentally came the discovery that just before dinner, when the mother was occupied in the kitchen, the girl was in the habit of entertaining a group of boys in the street by extravagant pantomime and posturing at the front windows. At first she seemed unable to realize that her conduct required any correction. The process of her reasoning seemed to be, "These movie actresses are applauded, their pictures are published, they are written about, they are talked about, they have jewels, fine clothes, money, and fame; I should like to be in their place; my parents pretend to disapprove, but they go to the movies often; they say a 'vamp' is cheap and common, but lots of older girls get themselves up to look like one; all this opposition is just because Mother and Father are old-fashioned and out-of-date." The latter point of view, often expressed by some of her companions, made correction extremely difficult. As a matter of fact, the appetite for the cheap literature persisted for several years, and it was only the steady replacement by cultural education that finally brought mature perception.

The point worth remembering is that punishment, or violent repressive measures would not have changed the point of view, but would only have resulted in greater secrecy and stimulation (by exaggerated attention) of the false goal striving. The attitude of the parents on certain phases of the matter may be of interest. It was not, "Young girls should not use paint and powder, and make a show

of themselves," but, "A young girl who uses paint and powder is sure to get a coarse, ugly skin; just as, if she plucks her eyebrows she will eventually make the hair-growth coarse and bushy, to her life-long regret. If she goes about imitating a 'vamp,' she is sure to be openly or secretly laughed at. We cannot spend all our time watching you, and, if you are determined to act in this manner when away from us, we shall explain to the neighbors and ask them not to mind when your behavior seems to them silly and ludicrous. We shall do our best to save your skin from being ruined, just as we shall try to help in every way toward your development into a mentally and physically high-grade woman, but we do not propose to have our lives taken up with incessantly trying to prevent you from spoiling your future. The job is mainly yours and you will have to accept your share of the responsibility." This attitude by no means represents perfect psychology, but it has some admirable points, particularly that of insisting upon a child's accepting partial responsibility.

Gradually but steadily it is desirable that the social horizon should broaden during this period of pre-adolescence. It seems to me an excellent idea that children should be taken by classes, occasionally, to visit other schools. Moreover, at such times I would have them received not only by the teachers but by the individual scholars of the school. The citizen of the future, the citizen of the present, needs

a point of view that is broad and inclusive, not narrow and limited. The models for this can best be established during the early extroverting period. The horizon should widen coincidentally with growth. This is closely associated with resourcefulness as well as viewpoint. Holding a child too closely to the neighborhood, retards to an unnecessarily late period the natural ability to move freely among strangers. How many parents would be unafraid to let a boy of twelve undertake a railroad trip of five thousand miles through various parts of the United States? Comparatively few. Yet if the boy had been allowed to develop his inherent resourcefulness there is not the slightest doubt that he could make the trip easily, safely, and with great enjoyment. It is not so much true that children of the present day are being too much protected, as that they are being protected in the wrong way. The thing to fear is not the contact with the world, but lack of preparatory training in *actual experiment* for that contact.

This is one respect in which the boarding school is valuable. Early adjustment to life away from home and familiar neighborhood does undoubtedly make for resourcefulness; and the contact with others from many different towns, different sections of the country, is distinctly broadening. Moreover, it is to be said for the average private school that its smaller classes are a distinct advantage, giving the teacher an opportunity for study of the individ-

ual child. The disadvantages of the boarding school are often more apparent than real. The atmosphere of many a boarding school is better for children than the atmosphere of many a home. Neighbors must often smile at hearing a nervous, fretful parent declare that its child "shall never be deprived of home influences!" The unconscious wish of such a parent is, obviously, not to lose the presence of the object on which it is able to discharge a portion of its mixed emotional tension. Such a wish would be disagreeable if consciously realized, so it is stopped by the Censor, is "rationalized" into agreeable form, and appears finally in the acceptable form of an exaggerated manifestation of anxiety for the child's welfare. This mechanism of "rationalization" is one of the commonest. It is seen constantly, in the production of *plausible reasons* for some course of action *which is really in response to an unconscious wish*—a wish which if consciously recognized would promptly be refused the right of way.

With respect to the family complex, the situation during this period tends to reverse itself. The more a child succeeds in detaching its interests from the restricted family circle, and projecting them outward, the more earnestly many parents attempt to check the movement and hold the child in a sort of psychic bondage. They seem obsessed by a fear of the son or daughter "getting away" from them, as if such a development would necessarily be most deplorable; whereas in fact if it does not progress

with undue rapidity it is highly desirable. "Tied to the front gate in childhood," might well be written as the epitaph of many a failure. Analytical work with young women suffering from lack of self confidence, and a baffling sense of inability to cope with the world, frequently brings out a history of domination by parents amounting to incessant supervision of nearly every act and every external relationship. Usually this has been "rationalized" by the parent as "solicitude for the daughter's health and welfare," and it has never occurred to the over-devoted mother or father that *exaggerated solicitude is a destructive suggestion,* since it fixes constant attention on ideas of possible—nay, probable—imminence of illness or harm.

There is yet another angle to the fixation of parent on maturing child. Few men or women can look on life and honestly say that if they had it to live over again they would not live it any differently. Now the mother sees in her daughter, and the father sees in his son, the self, as it were, recreated. There is unconscious identification of the strongest sort, and this gives rise to two tendencies; one, to hold onto the child because, as I have often heard parents express it, "my children are my life"; the other, to criticize and direct the child constantly because, seeing in the child the *self image,* the criticism and direction are being aimed by the parents *at a symbol of themselves.*

Biologically, the mother and father certainly do

live again in their children, but an effort to hold the children away from full-powered construction of an independent and individual existence, is not devotion to the children, *but to themselves*. Moreover, it is a direct attempt to defeat Nature's biological purposes. Quite often, if the children are aggressively constituted, it results in protests of steadily rising strength until there is definite rejection of further parental control. The weaker child, unable to protest effectively, yields to the domination, acquires a passive attitude toward people and circumstances, and becomes either an introverted failure or a nervous invalid. If there be a Day of Judgment, I can think of many things with which I should rather face a heavenly jury than the figure of a frustrated son or daughter whose chance for free self-expression had been sacrificed to my desire to operate its life my way.

Sometimes, but by no means always, associated with the foregoing are signs of *regression*—a turning backward from the aggressive contacts toward the more protected infantile status. Such indications may be read in growing reluctance to maintain active relations with the neighborhood group, in prolonged periods of day-dreaming; particularly if the phantasies are of melancholy nature; and in the resumption of early childhood traits. These may merely signify passing moods or phases, but if the signs persist it is well to consult a medical psychologist. The difficulty may be easily remedied if taken in

time. There is always the possibility that it is connected with disturbed function of one or more endocrine glands, particularly if there have been attacks of infectious diseases.

Some features of children's curiosity have already been discussed, but it is necessary to bring up the subject because of the relation between curiosity and imagination. The effect of contact with many minds is to stimulate curiosity, each new topic of discussion suggesting unexplored fields; but as the instinctive effort of the herd is to level the individual downward, the net result is to discourage imagination, just as it is to discourage independent thinking. Now the activation of a child's curiosity is a great incentive to learning, but the suppression of imagination just about counterbalances the effect. *What we must aim at is to energize both.* The methods —stimulative conversation, widely diversified books and magazines of travel, popular science, arts, craftsmanship, home-making, etc.—will suggest themselves to everyone. The point is not to forget that the repugnance of the herd for new ideas is definitely to be faced and outwitted as an influence.

One very valuable effect of contact with schoolmates during this period can be turned to excellent account within the home walls. Family life at its best is never overburdened with team-play. American schoolboy life is developing the coöperative model in this respect most admirably, and I have seen delightful results from an adroit father's trans-

planting the idea to the family group. With the mother's coöperation he organized the household as a team of six members, letting the captaincy pass from one to another in rotation, from week to week, but having it understood that father and mother were always to be considered as advisory coaches. The two girls of the group of four children were found to be, as might be expected, least responsive to the spirit of the team. They had had in their experience almost no models for coöperative effort (which incidentally suggests the great need of organizing girl's play more nearly in line with the team method of boy's sports) and both of them showed a tendency to react emotionally where the good of the team required sacrifice of personal wishes. The father is certain, however, that their slower adjustment to the idea was not an inherent resistance but a lack of habit-model.

In passing I may say that I believe this is wholly descriptive of the difficulty, so often charged by those opposed to woman suffrage, in getting women to coöperate among themselves harmoniously. It is true that, entrusted with the future of the race, women have had to be more highly and keenly instinctive than men, and this makes for individualism; but if there be any basis in fact for the charge referred to, it is in my opinion amply accounted for by the centuries of lack of team habit.

Of special importance for the pre-adolescent period, is the formation of systematic habits with

respect to the use of the day. I find the greatest difficulty in getting an unadjusted adult to accept this idea as a guide, where in his or her childhood it had not been applied. The period from seven to fourteen is the golden age for forming achievement habits. Parents should not only teach, but set an example of, briefly outlining the program of each day, regarding it as full of opportunity for progress and gain. Five minutes, just before going to sleep, given to a bit of directed imagination regarding achievement possibilities of the morrow will steadily and increasingly bear fruit, particularly if all ideas of difficulty, worry, or fear are resolutely ruled out and replaced by those of accomplishment and smiling courage. *The cumulative effect of such a practice is of incalculable benefit.* It should be made a regular and indispensable exercise, and should be persisted in until the mere approach of bed-time serves to set the suggestion machinery in motion and arouse thoughts of eagerness for the coming day's game of life.

A part of the program should always be given to the allied activities of assuming some of the household responsibilities and undertaking definite service to others in a positive form. The future of America depends upon the coöperative spirit of those who are now children, and coöperation, like charity, begins at home and is most easily taught in the home. The longer parents delay giving their children certain regular things to do about the house,

the more reluctant they will find the children to accept any such work as a part of the day. The happy time to get a little girl accustomed to making her bed, dusting her room, keeping her own things in order, and setting the table, is while she is still in the imitation-of-mother stage. If, on the other hand, she is allowed to reach the age of thirteen or fourteen without ever having been called upon to do any of these things or to devote a part of her energies to the comfort of others, she will not only be less resourceful, but probably very reluctant to take on what she then sees only as an annoying interruption of her self-seeking hours. What is true with respect to the girl-child is equally true for the boy.

Even, however, if the matter has been neglected, it is never too late to mend. The human being is essentially adaptable. Habits can be revised. If the relationship of child and parent is harmonious, based on real confidence, esteem and affection, it can be made a lever of tremendous capacity. We have particularly to remember the bearing of *esteem and approval of others* on Ego Maximation. Demonstrations of affectionate esteem are given by many parents with much too lavish readiness. Let the child *earn* something of what it gets. *Let special esteem and approval be the rewards of actual achievement.* Let them then be given unstintedly. But let them not be so common that they are to be had for the mere asking and hence have no more significance than incidentals.

As adolescence approaches there are likely to be premonitory signs of inward change. The endocrine system goes through a process of re-adjustment, the thyroid greatly increasing its activity, the thymus beginning to atrophy, and the entire sex organism starting to develop toward maturity. With this change in the food-mobilizing chemistry of the blood there are new stimuli being given to inward-bound nerve paths which in turn produce new affects in the central station, calling for a complicated series of new reactions to people and to life in general. A process of such radical nature cannot but be disturbing to equilibrium, mental as well as physical. Heightened sensitiveness and irritability are common to it, and should be met with calm reassurance rather than sharp reproof or insistent suppression. Increased nervous excitability needs to be met with steady suggestion of relaxation and tranquillity. Quite naturally a child is apt to develop signs of sex consciousness—shyness, and a general difference of behavior toward companions of the opposite sex —which is likely to mark the beginnings of rudimentary efforts at chosing definite love objects outside the family.

Sharp criticism or repression of these ideas of "having a sweetheart," is a very serious mistake. Guidance of the impulse by sound suggestion, toward a healthy-minded viewpoint, is certainly wise; but peremptory forbidding can only do harm, since it cannot repress the impulse but can only force it into secretive and devious channels. The natural and

wholly desirable unconscious aim of the child is to transfer from parent to some satisfactory person of its own age all that quality of its own love which is associated with mating. This process of transfer or "bridging" from the family outward should receive the entire, wholehearted coöperation of parents. Unfortunately it very often does not. The Unconscious fixation of parent on child, heretofore discussed, makes many parents, under the rationalized guise of exaggerated "protection," so manipulate affairs as to hold the child as closely as possible in emotional bondage to themselves. A few months ago when explaining this to a mother who for ten years had succeeded in balking every mating effort of her only daughter, I was countered with the exasperated reply, "Well—what if it's true! Are we to work and slave to raise a child, only to see it go and spend its life with someone else?" I could only suggest that that seems to depend upon whom we love most, the child or ourselves.

ADOLESCENCE

With the changes which have just been referred to in the preceding section well under way, we enter the final stage in the child's preparation for adult life. The two outstanding characteristics are the development of a final working goal and the development of a final mating goal. The part of the parent has become more than ever that of ad-

visory coach, since the field of juvenile activities should now be too broad for parental field-captaincy; and it is to be hoped that it will continue to broaden progressively.

The newness and strangeness of the material in both day-dreams and night-dreams, as well as the preponderance of romance feeling, expressed either directly or openly in their content, is often a most revealing evidence of the powerful force at work in body and brain during early adolescence. The hero-wish is also likely to come well to the fore and express itself in idealistic ambitions which, though usually beyond the goal that is finally reached, are no less an invaluable stimulus to the achievement effort. The making of men and women out of children is one of Nature's most complicated and beautiful undertakings. It will be well worth our while to consider some of the ways in which we can assist her.

Reference has been made to the partial emotional transfer from parents outward. This is accompanied by a more or less clearly shown desire for greater privacy both of person and of property—very significant symbols. Unwillingness of parents to adjust to this desire is often attended with unfortunate results. It is a pity that our arrangements for housing human beings have progressed so little beyond the provision made for horses and cows. The sleeping accommodations, for example, of thousands upon thousands of families in our large cities,

give a child even less privacy than that of animals in a stable. The adolescent boy or girl; indeed the pre-adolescent, for that matter; should have the privacy of an individual sleeping room, with desk and bookcase as indispensable parts of the furnishing. The arrangement of this room should be left largely to the child. The child's books, papers, writings, should be scrupulously treated as private property, and examined only with permission; except in the case of correspondence which is justifiably suspected of being unwise. Its privacy of person should be respected by the entire family, not as a special courtesy but as a model of conduct. Respect of a child for its elders originates in seeing them respect each other, and is finally fixed by the child itself receiving respect from them. There results, moreover, from willingly accorded privacy, a strong reinforcement of the personality, a realizing sense of emerging from childhood into larger responsibilities. Disregarding these tendencies, or suppressing them, not only results in frustrating a part of the child's unconscious striving toward a mature, independent, resourceful life, but often leaves a deep sense of hurt and injury which, reasonable or unreasonable, is bound to affect unfavorably the later feeling toward the parents.

The adolescent imagination needs to be viewed constructively from two angles. That element of it which is concerned in the mating striving needs to be watched with reference to the type of person

toward whom the romance feeling tends to direct itself. If the boys for whom an adolescent girl shows particular liking have characteristics resembling the girl's father it is very much worth while to observe which of these characteristics are most pronounced in the objects of her girlish regard. I have seen one instance in which nearly all the *undesirable* characteristics were present, *with an almost total lack of the desirable ones.* The method devised by the father to correct the difficulty was to *criticize himself* openly and frequently, and to mention repeatedly both his regret that he had not yet succeeded in overcoming his faults, and his determination to persist in eradicating them. These faults in himself he discussed often with the daughter, inviting her criticism. In less than a year, he had the satisfaction of hearing her actively criticize in boys the very characteristics which previously had attracted her. By an excellently contrived method of unconscious suggestion, he had raised the girl's standards of selection, and incidentally had started a course of eliminating long neglected weak spots in his own personality.

It is, of course, true that great numbers of children never show this tendency to choose school-boy or school-girl sweethearts who resemble fathers or mothers, but the tendency is sufficiently common to be kept definitely in mind. In analytical work, it appears in the case-histories constantly. The tendency is usually unconscious on the child's part; indeed

the resemblances often exist only in the similarity of a single trait of character or physical characteristic. One man of my acquaintance has frequently said in my hearing, "The woman I marry has got to be tall, well built, and fond of music." This happens to be a partial description of his charming mother.

Another phase of this element of the imagination which will bear the closest study is that in which the romance feeling goes out toward objects of the same sex. This is much more likely to occur in the case of a girl than of a boy. It usually appears, in the boy, only as an exaggerated admiration of some older boy, a sort of hero worship, and may be turned to good account if it merely stimulates a wish to attain to leadership. When it persists, and especially if it becomes associated with a settled distaste for the society of girls, the parents will do well to discuss the situation with a medical psychologist, for there is danger of a false goal being developed which will result in poor adjustment to life. In girls this direction of the romance feeling toward other girls, usually older, is not only quite common, but, according to reliable observation by teachers in girls' schools, it is on the increase. Moreover, the emotional nature of girls being much less suppressed than that of boys, it quite often assumes a highly emotional form. Such situations are fraught with real danger, and require the most delicate handling. Parents should by no means either allow matters to

drift or attempt to deal with them by peremptory suppression. There is always a possibility that the endocrines are not functioning properly. The physical as well as psychological factors need careful investigation. There may not be a thoroughly feminine development internally. Insufficiency of thyroid secretion, to mention only one of the possible deficiencies, may mean inadequate stimulation and retarded growth of sex organs which are therefore unable to stimulate normal mental affects.

Psychologically, several pictures may be sketched, in all of which it must not be forgotten that the central feature is the natural adolescent striving to transfer certain elements of emotion outward from the family. The girl may have had an inordinate attachment for the mother with a strong unconscious wish in early childhood to take the father's place in the mother's affections, this latter wish leading to unconscious imitative identification with the father. The model thus formed is a masculine striving for a feminine love-object. Again, the girl may throughout childhood have found her father emotionally cold and unresponsive, while her mother was exactly the opposite. The associations have therefore strongly suggested a feminine rather than a masculine love-image. Again, the girl may have had a strong love for the mother in early childhood, and, through the mother's death, or through the coming of other children (cf. our hysteria case) may have suffered a deep and prolonged sense of loss and de-

privation of this cherished affection. In this case, the adolescent seeking could be, unconsciously, for a mother substitute. These examples will serve to illustrate the ways in which, psychologically, the circumstances of childhood can have given rise to false-goal images. Expert advice should be had by all means. The situation may right itself, or reach a level of working compromise, without assistance; but the outlook for successful and happy adjustment to life will be far better if the girl has skillful attention and help. Parents can make excellent use of unconscious suggestion, but this needs careful direction and sure understanding of the real causes of the misdirected mating energy.

Returning to the first mentioned element of the imagination—that which relates to work and to the final goal of trade, profession, or business—there are several ways in which the ideas may be directed with great benefit. Economic necessity may compel early choice, but unless this is the case it is best to hold up a general all-round education as the most desirable basic attainment of man and woman. Probably two out of every three children will have shown, by the age of fifteen or sixteen, some special trend or preference that has possibilities of adult development as a career. But shall we immediately assume, as some systems of education would have us do, that the best future for the child lies along this path? By no means, if we are to make intelligent use of our knowledge of the forces at work below the surface of the mind.

We know that there may be compensation strivings, identifications, and temporary sublimating needs, which can give controlling direction to the activities, and which *for the time being* may have urgent need of the outlets chosen. But because a boy has strong compensation need of an added power-sense, and gives evidence of it by great desire to drive motor cars, we need not jump at the conclusion that his best career is that of an automotive engineer, and begin suggesting this to him. Nor because a girl, influenced by an exhibitionistic trend, which has been reinforced by attractive pictures of a famous danseuse, begins to show great interest in toe dancing, need we conclude that she is cut out for ballet fame. The early interests are important indications of what is going on inside, but we should neither give them exaggerated encouragement because we happen to like them, nor try to suppress them because we happen to disapprove of them as a career. They are merely valuable data. If they are harmless, and if the child shows a strong wish to pursue them, by all means let us give it opportunity to do so, taking a sincere interest in the specialization, but holding out always the ideal of a well-rounded education as sure to improve the capacity for any or every line of work. An early fixed idea with respect to a career is occasionally so definite that the one thing to do is to get in line and help the child toward it, but even then the suggestion of thorough general education is not to be neglected. There is no reason why a musical genius should

grow up ignorant of literature, history, and general science.

Not infrequently, one encounters a family situation in which one finds that the adolescent children regard their future as settled for them. On the one hand, there is the case of a father who has always told the child that it is to be so and so,—doctor, artist, lawyer, business man; singer, actress, housewife, designer, writer—until passive acceptance of its future destiny has become for the child a settled habit. The parent who has followed this procedure is, of course, being controlled by an unconscious wish to live his own life twice; he wishes to see carried out by the child a part of his own unfulfilled ambitions. His "rationalization" is a self-satisfied certainty that what he desires is unquestionably best for the child. And then there is, on the other hand, the situation which arises from the curse of too much money. The formula is, "It doesn't matter particularly what I do. My future is safe; my life has always been easy, and always will be. If sometime I find something to do which amuses me, doesn't interfere too much with pleasure, and doesn't require hard work, I may do it; but why bother to think about it?" The natural result of such an environment is: first, no habits of useful achievement are formed: second, the imagination is habitually occupied with ideas of pleasure instead of ideas of attainment.

Finally, we must not overlook the situation in

which a boy is brought up with the settled understanding that he is to go into his father's business. This attitude of the parents neglects two such, to them apparently minor, details as the boy's natural bent and the best interests of the business. More than one man who has built a great business has lived to complain bitterly of his son's indifference or lack of ability to make the business go. It would not be a bad idea to remember that the son is not solely a reproduction of the father but is compounded of two parents, four grandparents, and eight great-grandparents, not to mention the preceding multiplicity of generations. A New England chemist has succeeded in making a near-silk purse out of the bristles from a sow's ear, but no process has yet been devised for making successful business executives to order.

As adolescence progresses, the specialization trends are likely to show many changes unless the earliest ones have been overemphasized by intensive suggestion. The mature ambition of twenty-one is likely to be far different from that of fifteen, and of a distinctly higher level. The effort throughout the period should be to stimulate the imagination, negatively against idleness and a useless life, positively toward mental development and achievement. This calls for definite, frequent, presistent suggestion. If the response seems slow, there need be no discouragement, since, particularly during the years from fourteen to seventeen, the internal disturbance is often sufficient to make mental application to

work, and the entire attitude toward work, quite difficult. Patience and calm persistence are the magic keys.

The reference to imagination and suggestion brings up the subject of teaching children autosuggestion so that they may use it intelligently themselves. The difficulty is that it is worse than useless unless taught scientifically, in accord with demonstrable psychological laws. In Geneva its value for children has been demonstrated, and is being demonstrated every day, beyond any question of doubt. Baudouin remarks, "In the education of children, nothing could be more erroneous than to believe that in them imagination is an imperfect form of reason, so that imagination must be suppressed and must be replaced by the perfected reason. Imagination is something very different from a larval form of reason. It has its rights side by side with and independently of reason; it is a precious force for the individual, were it only as a medium for the outcropping of the subconscious and as a precondition of suggestion. We must teach children to do justice to all their faculties; they must not let any one faculty encroach; they must not, for example, allow imagination to usurp the place of reason; they must cultivate every faculty, imagination as much as the rest, nay, more than the rest."

And again, "I would go farther, and would say that autosuggestion ought to take a primary place in education. For, by its use, not only will the child learn self-control, not merely will he develop his

physical energies and be helped to resist disease, but in addition he will be able to develop (in a degree hardly conceivable by those who have not seen the method applied) his working powers in all fields. He will learn how to obtain the maximum of results with a minimum of effort; he will acquire a method which will be a stand-by to him throughout life. In the intellectual sphere he will develop all his faculties, and memory and attention above all. In especial he will learn to like his work."*

In conclusion, no consideration, however brief, of the adolescent period, has touched the vital point unless it takes cognizance of the need for sublimation of the physical urge which arises—whether recognized as such, or not—with the maturing internal development. Exercise, and plenty of it, is the means which one thinks of first, and this is sound thinking; but it should not go without qualification. Adolescence is usually a time of great growth, and it is always a time of deep readjustment and increased nervous excitability. Much of the vitality is needed for growth. Violent exercise, as well as prolonged or intensive periods of athletic training, is likely to be far more harmful than beneficial. Supervisors of athletics are coming more and more to recognize this fact and to make it their guide; moreover, they are increasingly giving their attention to adapting exercises to the special temperament and condition of the individual.

* Op. cit., page 93.

Unfortunately but a small percentage of all the children can avail themselves of such expert guidance, and without something to replace it they neither exercise intelligently nor with wise restraint. Parents may do very great service, therefore, if they will make their children understand how very important it is that the body should not be overtaxed or the nervous energy expended to the point of unbalance or exhaustion. The form of sport should be chosen to supply activity to the entire body; to give training in coördination, rythm, and ease of motion; to avoid excessive strain, or overworking the heart. The boy or girl should be taught insistently that at the first sign of excessive fatigue, the game, whatever it may be and whatever the circumstances, should be promptly discontinued. The idea of a sixteen-year-old boy staggering across the finish line of a mile run, in utter collapse; or a fifteen-year-old girl playing the last half of a basket-ball game with set teeth and suffering body; is one which simply should not be tolerated. Both boy and girl will pay a price out of all proportion to the purpose of the effort.

It should not be forgotten also that the nature of the urge which is to be sublimated is basically emotional. In dancing, properly taught and intelligently supervised, is a most valuable outlet and beneficial exercise. Outdoor dancing, in particular, might be widely developed in America with results of the greatest value.

MATING

How many of us who have attained maturity, looking back upon ourselves at the age of nineteen, can say that we had a clear idea of what we were aiming at by way of a mating life? To make the question somewhat more searching; how many of us had had from our parents a definitely implanted and constructively developed thought-process in that connection?

Learning is developed by experience, and Nature provides, in the boy-and-girl-sweetheart stage, and in the "calf-love" stage, a series of experiments (unconsciously such) which help greatly in stimulating the mating urge and in discovering both what is wanted and what is not wanted for the final goal. This is the main reason why I have suggested that it is unwise to block the formation of such attachments. There is such a thing as protecting a child too much, protecting it so completely that it eventually discovers it is grown up without any of the experiences necessary to fit it for coping with adult life. But more important even than those experiences, is a sound, constructive series of ideas, built up from late childhood all through the period of adolescence; and at the risk of being set down as a sentimentalist I am going to say without qualification that I am convinced that the central idea to be insistently emphasized is not a material one but a spiritual one. Companionship, home, children, all these are im-

portant, but their importance to the complete development of the individual—in particular, to the development of the *higher nature* of the individual—is in my opinion relatively insignificant in comparison to the importance of a fully accepted and deeply lived love-life.

Women, as might be expected, have a clearer instinctive concept of this than have men. We American men have so wide an outlet for our energy, and have become so saturated with the idea of material success and the thrill of acquisition and possession, that we are in danger of losing our vision of the *developmental intention of the race.* For the lower animals there is sufficient satisfaction in improvement of the material conditions of life, food, comfort, safety; but this form of progress will not permanently satisfy the sense of his destiny which resides in the Unconscious of man. Regardless of where the impulse may have originated, it is certain that the impulse toward progressively higher spiritual (or ethical) levels does exist in certain portions of the human race; and it needs only the simplest analysis of the heightened spiritual purposes of the young man or young woman in love, to perceive with what type of emotion this deep impulse is associated.

At first thought it might seem that this is a negation of the previous description of the Unconscious as instinctive-primitive, but the apparent discrepancy disappears when we remember that ethical conduct

is actually a development of two primitive impulses; one, the impulse of affection toward external objects; the other, the desire for esteem and approval.

To love someone else is to externalize one's emotional interest. To love someone else *more than one's self* is to externalize supremely. We need only recall the diagram of a normal adult, in the chapter on "Libido," to appreciate the significance and value of such a model, particularly when it is the response to one of the strongest affects in the personality. A critical characteristic of the normal adult is outwardly turned interests, externally achieved gratifications. There can be no clearer image, as there can be no stronger incentive, for the development of this characteristic in the early years of adult life, than a deeply felt, steadily energized love for one who is a suitable mate. Such a love adds something of purpose and direction to all the achievement activities. It has its occasional elements of distraction, but for the most part it adds to, rather than detracts from, the force of one's efforts, especially if it is in line with a long-cherished aim.

But to return to its influence upon the ethical outlook and conduct; the emotion of love, at its proper cultural level, is associated with self denial and service. These are externalized energy paths. By contrast, acquisition and possession are much nearer to inwardly directed emotion. The miser, for example, is really an introverted person. His externalized energy is devoted mainly to procuring some-

thing which he can withdraw from the rest of the world and make part of himself. In the Ego Maximation of love, one adds one's self to the substance of others, and one is thereby multiplied; while in that of acquisitiveness one subtracts from the substance of others in order to add to one's own insufficient self. The finer human qualities associated with love, such as unselfishness, gentleness, sympathy, patience, tolerance, purity of thought, willingness for service, are furthered in the highest degree by the constant presence of the dynamic emotion as a ruling purpose of life. We may ask ourselves again: Was that the central idea of our own mating image?—and, if so, have we kept faith with it? I would not be understood as implying that otherwise a useful and well extroverted life is impossible; but merely as emphasizing the value of a fully rounded love-life whose essence is service.

The preceding sections of this book will have failed of a part of their object if they have not made clear the likelihood that early mating efforts may be turned toward objects which satisfy images acquired within the family; and if they have not made equally clear the reasons for such likelihood. That a young man should unconsciously seek a woman who in some way resembles his beloved mother is both likely and natural; quite as it is natural and likely that a young woman may transfer most readily to a man who suggests to her Unconscious a father or older brother who has been an unfailing refuge

and inspiration. Moreover, there is no reason why such a choice should not be an entirely happy one, *provided that the unconscious wish to preserve the family image has not been so strong as to override serious objectionable factors.* Love is proverbially unreasonable, but there is no situation in which it seems more wholly blind than this. Indeed the obstinate refusal to weigh any objection, however apparent, in the love object, may well be taken as indicating a strong probability that an unconscious family fixation has prompted the choice.

There is still another aspect which should be borne in mind as a possibility. There may be a strong unconscious fixation upon a parent, which is so vigorously denied recognition in consciousness that at the latter level it appears in the form of complete negation, a tendency always to disagree, to take up a position exactly opposite to that of the parent on all occasions. Under these circumstances, if the parent disapproves of the mating choice, that disapproval in itself is sufficient to make the young man or young woman adhere to the choice with obstinate determination.

Another factor to be considered is the physical one. Unless attraction here is direct, strong, and unimpeded, unless the physical attunement is clearly perceptible and entirely agreeable, there are quite sure to be psychological sequences which are anything but favorable to the outlook for a happy life companionship. From an endocrine viewpoint, there

are many interesting angles which bear not only upon the immediate relation, but also upon the children which may result from the union. For the most part, however, these are still in the speculative and experimental phases, and we are justified only in the general observation that marriage to an obvious glandular inferior is giving hostages to fate, both as to one's own happiness and as to the constitutions of one's children.

The foregoing brief review is intended to suggest a few lines of thought which may be helpful in the process of mating selection. It goes without saying that love cannot be planned; the emotions are essentially spontaneous affects. But the existence of a love feeling does not necessitate its being blindly followed. The existence of a reasoned group of ideas is a guide which may save one from disaster. I have sought to indicate that these ideas should center around the purpose to make life a continuing act of externalized love and service, that they should prefigure a mate without intensive adherence to family images, that they should include a disposition to weigh objections frankly and fairly, and that they should not disregard physical unsuitability.

As a corollary I would suggest the unsoundness of constructing definite pictures of the physique or temperament which alone will be accepted. The young woman whose childhood fondness for Lorna Doone has made her project another John Ridd as her future husband is likely to discover at the age of

twenty-five that heroes of fiction are not scattered about the earth awaiting her appearance. A young woman whose admiration for a tall, blond, older brother, has made her determine that her husband must be cast in the same mold, may while waiting, miss the love of a brown-haired man of medium height who would have made her royally happy if she had not put a mental block on her emotional path. Similarly, a young man who declares that he will marry only a slender brunette has set his regard upon the shell instead of the kernel; or another who insists that his wife must be a good cook, has set his stomach's pleasure as a mating goal.

Quite as definitely as successful and happy mating reinforces the personality, unsuccessful mating may weaken it, both by destroying the sense of well-being and by transfer of the sense of failure and discouragement to all one's activities. And equally the fact of defeat in love, of failure to win the object of one's affection, has its recoil upon one's self esteem, one's evaluation of, and confidence in, one's own power. It is a severe blow to the Ego Maximation striving. The intolerable unconscious sense of defeat is actually the moving force which prompts a murderous rage of jealousy. The primitive Unconscious simply cannot stand the implication that another is superior to itself. Jealousy, under analysis, comes down to the plain fact of the inability to stand defeat. The same fact is responsible for the deep discouragement, often actual prostration, which

follows disappointment in love. (The feeling of deprivation also, of course, is a factor.) In both instances, the *possessive* element in the love must obviously be dominant. If we loved generously, our first concern would be for the other's happiness; and if that happiness was promoted by our absence rather than our presence, or if it was best forwarded by the presence of someone else in our place, then we should react with coöperation rather than resentment or jealousy. That we do not, but react in wholly selfish terms, is sufficient indication of the primitive nature of the Unconscious and of its emotional affects and responses.

Let us not forget that inability to stand defeat is essentially an evidence of inferiority, either of constitution, or training, or both. But let there be no discouragement in the recognition of this, for self-analysis and persistent auto-suggestion of the right sort will work wonders. Disappointments in life are inevitable, but almost anyone can learn, first, to analyze them so as to absorb the lessons which they contain, and second, to replace them with forward-looking, constructive ideas of the future. Any loved person is important, and failure to win is, *temporarily* a great loss. But the thing of *dominant* importance is not the individual love-object but *the will to love.* This must be preserved, reinforced, cherished, regardless of disappointment and failure. Its effect upon one's self and others is priceless. Rendered into service its value is incalculable; and

in spite of one, or two, or half-a-dozen, failures of attachment, there is always tomorrow and tomorrow's possibility. The following sentence from Tansley's *The New Psychology* may well be taken to heart in this connection: "If the libido is adequately strong the end is steadily pursued, through whatever pain the path may lead."*

Returning for a moment to the unsuccessful marriage; the true goal, happiness, is not in sight, and if matters are allowed to drift, it may eventually get entirely beyond reach. Shall there be an immediate rush for the divorce court? By no means. Sometime, before the marriage took place, there must have been a friendship. There was some sort of attractive companionship, or the marriage would not have occurred. Intelligence would suggest that recourse might be had to this original friendly basis for a thorough, frank, sincere review and analysis of the whole situation. Understanding is essential to peace. Let the discussion be undertaken with the definite intention of finding out fully both points of view, all causes of dissatisfaction, and wherein the chief purposes diverge. Let emotionalism be ruled out, and friendliness be the keynote; and let fair play on both sides to the point of generosity, be a matter of pride. Above all, once the review is undertaken, let it be carried through completely until each side understands the other. It is far more than likely that new vision will ensue; and in any

* Op. cit.

event the situation will be brought to an intelligent level.

Finally, I would pass on to the reader a thought given me by a very wise woman—a Russian, whose name I am not at liberty to use. It is sound analytical psychology, in the highest degree constructive when applied: "The trouble with most men and women in love is that they do not consider their love worth working for. As soon as they have got possession of each other, they regard the task as finished and themselves as free to take a life-long vacation. Looking back to the time when I was fifteen, I know that I have loved several men in my life, and I know that each love was stronger than the preceding. It was because always I made the love the center of my life. I gave it my best thought. I worked over it. I honored it. I never let myself take it for granted. When a man or woman puts something else ahead of love, the love goes. I think of each day as a chance to serve my husband, and I would not have married him if he had not thought of each day as a chance to serve me. And so we are never in danger of thinking of love as a finished thing which can be safely neglected. It enriches our whole life because we give it the very best we have."

IN THE DAY'S WORK

The subject of true goal and false goal has been treated analytically in a preceding chapter so that it

need not be elaborated here in that manner, but our discussion in this section must nevertheless begin with consideration of an objective. To start one's life-work solely with the idea of making a living and accumulating a competence will not square with our conception that the true goal of a human being is to be happy. Yet that describes the attitude of the average young man or woman when entering the world of daily work. Many have ambition; some have distinct preferences for a particular line of work; a few, particularly those who prepare for and enter a trade or profession, have a perfectly definite aim; but with the majority "getting a job" is merely a necessary response to economic pressure, and there is entire readiness to change from one occupation to another at any time, if increase of wage, or other advantage, may be secured.

This is not so much pursuit of a false goal as it is the general lack of any goal at all except shelter, food, clothes, and a little money to spend on pleasure. Those whose minds are active soon begin to look about them with signs of unrest and evidences of desire for self-improvement, and so we have hundreds of thousands embarking on courses of study at night. The significance of this, psychologically, is that all those who show willingness to learn, willingness that is, to sacrifice a part of their leisure in studying, should have been taught *all through childhood* how to select a desired occupation and how to prepare for it.

At least one-third of one's life is to be spent in work, and this amounts to one-half of the entire waking time. To attain the true goal, happiness, then, the life-work must be done not in the spirit of necessity but in the spirit of pleasurable interest. It must be something that is looked forward to each morning and left at night with the feeling that it will be a pleasure on the morrow. This brings us to the very heart of the matter, an intelligent choice of work. We cannot too clearly stress that word *"intelligent."* It is not a mark of intelligence, for example, to choose a work because it is easy, or because it is clean, or because it allows one to wear fine clothes, or because it does not spoil the appearance of one's hands, or because the hours are short. These are all derived from a spirit of avoidance. They express a negative, not a positive attitude.

The positive, the intelligent attitude, begins in a willingness to estimate, with unsparingly honest critique, one's natural abilities and aptitudes. Once clearly perceived these should be accepted as the basis of development. There are exceptions, of course, but these do not invalidate the principle. Now the perception of one's abilities puts one in a position to compare them with the available work-patterns of business and industry in general, and from this comparison, frequently made and fairly thought of, there will eventually appear definite reactions of liking and disliking. The next step is to rid one's mind of the objections which do not

really signify, such as those indicated in the above described negative attitudes.

The final step is projecting the imagination steadily onto the achievement and development possibilities of the line of work which finally stands in the mind as the most logical center of ability and sustained interest. The best time for this process is obviously while one is still at school; but in my judgment one should not hesitate, even in the late middle age, to learn a new occupation and throw one's self into it unhesitatingly, if there comes a clear perception that one's present occupation is not in the true line of one's interests. The educability of a human being, the capacity to adapt mentally, depends not so much upon years as upon the strength of the wishes. When their sons went to the Great War, there were many elderly men and women in the southern mountains who could neither read their letters nor write in reply. They tramped long miles to the schools and learned to read and write with an ease which far outstripped that of children. Three-score-and-ten years proved to be no obstacle where the wish was strong enough.

Just as in mating, then, the thing of first importance is a clearly perceived objective. Liking the chosen work more and more, finding greater and greater interest in perfecting skill and method, calls for complete unqualified acceptance of the path, and steady training of the imagination. It is at this latter point that thousands of men and women fail.

Having chosen a work which they can do well, they content themselves with going through the motions. Either the imagination is dissipated in fruitless ideas of some day doing something else, or in plans for getting temporary pleasure, or the imaginative faculty is allowed to atrophy from disuse until it no longer functions at all except in rudimentary fashion. Its vast possibilities are wholly neglected and unrealized. Life becomes an enduring routine instead of a vivid experience.

We must not overlook the potentiality of the endocrines in this connection. No one can work happily or live keenly if the vital springs are low. It goes without saying that good physical condition is a prime essential to a sense of well-being; but too many men and women who appear to be in ordinarily good health are nevertheless unable to get their indicated horsepower actually applied to the business of living, and not infrequently the cause is an entirely unsuspected fault in the functions of the internally-secreting glands. Lowered activity of pituitary, thyroid or adrenals, for example, may result not only in slower brain-speed but lack of zest in both work and play. I have seen young men and young women of admirable physique, excellent risks from a life-insurance point of view, who were entirely unable to apply themselves vigorously to any pursuit for more than a short time—and were not only wholly in the dark as to the real reason, but were very much puzzled and depressed. Examina-

tion by a competent expert revealed, in several of these instances, a faulty food-mobilizing chemistry, arising, as it happened, more often from pituitary or thyroid insufficiency than from any other source. Glandular treatment and corrective psychology wrought a complete change in their ability to handle life aggressively. The hypo-pituitary or hypo-thyroid person cannot expect to have an active, well coördinated, highly energized mind and body. The basic chemistry is inadequate. That it can now be corrected in a majority of cases is the endocrinologist's invaluable addition to medical science.

This brings us to consideration of the causes of faulty endocrine functioning. The physiological possibilities do not properly come within the scope of this book, but psychologically several angles have already been suggested in the preceding sections. We saw there, in outline, the pictures of conflicts and efforts at adjustment which could be transformed into physical manifestations. That psychical affects can recoil with destructive force upon pituitary, adrenals and thyroid, was amply observed in the cases of war-shock during the recent years of catastrophe. The effect, moreover, of intense worry in business and other matters of everyday life, is well known to be depressing to the thyroid. There are excellent reasons for believing that the conflict between the Fore-conscious and imperfectly repressed material in the Unconscious may gradually produce equally unfortunate glandular disturbances,

even though the disturbances are less acute. This factor should by no means be overlooked. It is a pity that there is as yet no authoritative technique available whereby one may at least partially analyze one's Unconscious independently and uncover the major conflicts, if they exist, without the assistance of a thoroughly trained analyst. Earnest work is being done, however, toward the development of such a technique.

There is not only the endocrine effect to be considered in loss of energy through conflict, but also a two-fold loss in the mind itself. Generally speaking, all functions use energy, and the operation of the two censorships must be included. The presence of a deeply emotionalized, unsquared group of affects in the Unconscious, requires strong and persistent censorship to prevent their breaking through and disturbing the Fore-conscious, perhaps to the point of utterly defeating its program. Our hysteria patient was a case in which the censorship had been overworked for years. There are innumerable situations which can occur in the early life, any one of which, repressed or suppressed to complete forgetfulness, may nevertheless have been so highly charged with a sense of shock, fear, hurt, forbidden desire, defeat, or a mixture of acute emotions, that its affects are easily excited and the result is frequent conflict below the conscious level. Again, there is the deeply emotionalized reproach of a bad habit, against which one may have struggled inef-

fectively for years. In this instance not only will there be loss of energy in conflict, but the weakening effect of habitual cultural defeat, as well.

Besides waste in conflict there is, very commonly, a "splitting" of energy. Instead of using the achievement path (shown in the diagram with the section on operating the will) as the main line of wish-expression, there is an attempt at equal division with the lower path of autistic gratification. The *wish* energy being equally divided, it follows that the *effective* energy will also be split in approximately equal proportions and the actual work of life will suffer in comparison with the work of others, and will yield comparatively little of interest or pleasure. The remedy for this is an earnest study of the method of will-control outlined in the section devoted to that subject, and regular, unwearying practice until achievement-direction of energy becomes a habit. *Here again, directed imagination will be found invaluable.*

Probably the commonest trouble of all is inability to concentrate. A moment's consideration will show that what has just been discussed may easily be the cause, and many writers on psychology recommend intensive practice of exercises such as committing passages to memory, doing mental arithmetic, and the like. There can be no objection to such mental exercises, but we shall do better to remember certain mechanisms which have been outlined in preceding chapters and avail ourselves of the easier rather

than the more difficult methods of correction. In the presence of a strong enough wish we have no difficulty with concentration. The desire to escape, if the building is afire, will be quite sufficient to keep the attention from wandering to last night's party or to one that is being planned for next week. The trouble is that achievement wishes are usually associated with the idea of work, and the word "work" has become, during childhood, loaded with unpleasant associations of effort, self-denial, confinement, etc.—the negation of play and pleasure—until our actual wish, recognized or not, is to be free from the irksome necessity of spending all our days in toil. I say the "actual wish," meaning, of course, the underlying, instinctive affect.

Successful adjustment requires the development and energizing of achievement (cultural) wishes to a point where they supersede and replace the instinctive one. Concentration upon the necessary effort-responses will rise steadily with the strength of the wishes. Ego Maximation is the strongest reinforcement. Throughout the entire process, Coué's law of reversed effort may well be kept in mind. "The harder I try to correct my faults, the harder I find it to do so!" Naturally, since the force of attention is inevitably directed toward the faults themselves as well as toward correction. But now suppose that, instead, the idea of the faults is persistently replaced with a totally different idea—the idea, for example, of being the most cheerful,

rapid and efficient worker in the entire organization; and suppose that this idea is given the full power of imagination, morning, noon and night. It gradually develops into a dominant, indeed almost an obsessional wish. Concentration on the work will grow with the wish, just as surely as it will center around the wish to escape, if the building is afire. This sort of concentration, that which follows a strong wish, is far easier and less fatiguing than the sort which attends the knitted brow, the sort which is summoned by an effort of will. In addressing lecture audiences I find it invaluable at the outset to suggest relaxation. If what I have for them then stimulates their interest and imagination, there not only need be no concern about concentration, but at the end of the talk neither they nor I will be sensibly fatigued.

This context leads naturally to the subject of applied autosuggestion. Without undertaking here the presentation, impossible in the scope of this book, of the technique which is being so successfully taught at Nancy and at Geneva, it will be practicable to outline at least two simple ways of applying it which can be used with valuable results even though only the most rudimentary methods are employed. One is implanting in the mind an advance outline of the day. The other is giving the mind something constructive to work on during sleep. Several years ago, I heard a successful executive tell a group of young men how he did his work, and included in the

talk was the advice to prepare at the close of each day's business a list of the ten most important things for the next day. To this I would add,—run them over in the mind just before going to sleep, not thoughtfully, or with elaboration of detail, but with the sure knowledge that the deeper centers of the mind are capable of viewing them constructively even though conscious attention is surrendered in sleep. Then, if there is a particular problem which seems difficult of solution, review its features lightly as a last game for the imaginative Unconscious to play at during the night. Do not be discouraged if no immediate results are apparent. Remember that fiction, poetry, musical composition, inventions, innumerable ideas, spring from the Unconscious, often in forms that give evidence of the highest constructive elaboration. Give your Unconscious a chance. Give it the material, and stimulate it with a keenly dwelt-on wish along frank Ego Maximation lines. It is a habit which, if persisted in, will soon or later present you with some very valuable ideas when you least expect them.

The Unconscious, we remember, can expend energy without perceptible fatigue. The Fore-conscious and Conscious, however, have working limits which may not be disregarded without either a falling off in the quality of work or a depletion of vital reserves. The day's work, therefore, should in the case of the average man or woman be dismissed absolutely when the business day is finished.

I have known several organizations in which certain of the executives were filled with the idea that instilling "pep" into the staff depended upon overstimulating themselves with the caffeine in strong coffee, thumping the lunch table, and declaring that, "Every man in this organization has got to eat and sleep our proposition day and night"! An excellent way to implant affects of fatigue, fear, and resistance; but a poor way to make men and women love their work. Suppose, instead, that the executive were to say to his men, "Look here, fellows, I'm going to give a Monday off, and two theatre tickets, to the man who first discovers something about our product that I don't know. If it's a good selling point, I'll give him four tickets instead of two. If it's a fault and he can show a way to correct it I'll raise his salary!" And suppose he keeps a watchful eye on his staff to detect signs of overwork, over-thinking, worry, ill health, and makes both men and women feel that he is concerned about their welfare as human beings instead of only as cogs in the machinery. Not only will the results be better, but they will be cumulative. Getting the best out of a human being begins with understanding how a mind functions below the conscious level.

Going to one's work in the morning is rarely done with mental preparation. Herein lies a major cause of lost motion and lack of pleasure in production. *The spirit of the day* is of tremendous importance, and a few minutes given to it each morn-

ing while preparing for the day will pay extraordinary dividends in accomplishment and happiness. Let a young man or young woman, immediately on rising, and while dressing, run over in the mind some such thought as this, "This day, like every day, is full of opportunity to make people realize the sincerity of my purposes, the cheerfulness of my disposition, the willingness and value of my service. I shall carry with me the sense of energy, poise, courage, resourcefulness and good cheer. I need not be self-conscious about it because the qualities make themselves felt without the need of effort, provided I feel them myself. Throughout the day I am going to make people glad I am in the world." And just before entering office or factory let the same thought recur, not necessarily repeated in full, but as a definite and complete idea. If this is made a daily habit, there will soon be the realization of increased personal power and of a clear response from one's associates.

The value to an organization, of beginning each day in this spirit, is incalculable. It is effective from the first moment at desk, bench, or machine. Its quality is apparent in face, voice and manner. Moreover, the quality gets into the work itself, improves it, speeds it, makes it go forward with new life. The perceptible effect upon the relation with one's fellow workers is not long in following. There will be less of the *personal* attitude, less fruitless and futile emotionalizing of those contacts which

have not been agreeable and harmonious. There is nothing more wasteful in the business day than the displacement of energy in acrimonious or combative encounters; just as there is nothing more annoying to a busy executive than to have an assistant whose chief unconscious concern is to direct his attention to herself and her affairs. In my judgment an organization *regardless of the value of the service rendered* should lose no time in ridding itself of the person who will not fit, impersonally, into the team; provided that the fault has been pointed out and there has been no perceptible effort at correction. The spirit of the day can be disrupted over and over again by a single individual who is preoccupied with self, unable to get the business-like, impersonal attitude; or who is ever ready to see a fancied slight and resent it.

Contrasted with the spirit of the day, *the spirit of the organization* comes first from head-quarters and then from department executives and foremen. I once heard a famous orchestra conductor say, "I must have the score in my head—not my head in the score. I should know my music well enough so that I can give my eyes to my men. A conductor with his head in the score is a poor conductor; he will soon find his men have their heads in the score too —and have forgotten all about him!" Department heads, indeed the Big Boss himself, may well take this to heart. A president who forgets his men will soon find they have forgotten him, and that his

power to influence them is gone. The sales manager who thinks always of sales and seldom of salesmen, is a "poor conductor." A foreman who thinks only of production and never of the producers, may be liked by the superintendent, but he will not be liked by his men, and will soon lose his most effective grip on them.

A department head who looks after the welfare and comfort of his workers is going to be the hardest-worked man in the department; and this is quite right; he ought to be. His capacity to think *about* others, as well as *for* others, should be one of his chief qualifications. Now what has been said about an employee and the spirit of the day, holds equally true for every leader of others, from the president down; and let no man think because he has reached high office that he is beyond the value of directing his mental attitude by habitual, carefully planned suggestion. But the ability of an executive to inspire his organization resides not alone in the effect of his appearance, voice and manner. It includes his capacity to make them feel his interest in their welfare and in their progress. There are two large concerns in New York which are directed, respectively, by two men who hold exactly opposed views in this connection.

The president of one keeps himself aloof from the personnel, regards the employees as necessary evils, considers that most of them are overpaid ingrates, never visits a factory unless there is new

building construction going on, and, if he has occasion to go to any retail department, recognizes only the head. The president of the other appears in every manufacturing division at least once a month and in every operating division at least once a week; he recognizes every employee on these visits of inspection, with a smile and nod or a word of greeting; he notes, and has ameliorated, any bad working conditions; he has reported to him every case of serious illness and directs that adequate care be assured; if an employee is getting married there will be flowers and a card from the president with some words of congratulation; in brief, he has succeeded in making the whole force think of him as one who cares as much for human beings as he does for making money. The comparative results are very interesting. The first company has lost enough good men to operate an entire organization. Its employees are its worst advertisers. It has had extraordinary commercial opportunities, it is conservatively capitalized, yet in twenty years it has never earned a dividend on its common stock. The second company, with far less favorable conditions, has grown from nothing to a business of six millions a year, with net profits which have exceeded half a million per annum, or fifty per cent on the capitalization.

In conclusion, it may be helpful to consider how best to meet the inevitable occurrence of worry and fear. It is idle to say, "Don't worry," unless some

way can be indicated which will make the injunction possible of performance. Worry and fear are for practical purposes nearly synonymous. To worry is to fear something and to think about it obsessionally—to allow it to dominate the mental activity. The man who admits that he is worried, and yet declares that he is not afraid, has uttered a paradox. As a matter of fact he might better recognize the associated fear as an effort of Nature, through stimulation of the adrenals, to prepare him for the most effective fight against the situation which he dreads. The trouble is that the situation, although foreseen as possible cannot be promptly met and dealt with, and the prolonged waiting, with the system kept in partial response to fear, finally lowers the vitality of mind and body. The strain, certainly affecting the adrenals and the thyroid, is probably communicated to all the endocrine glands and upsets the entire food-mobilizing chemistry as well as the tone of the sympathetic nerve system. By the time the trouble actually arrives, if it ever does, the victim of worry is in anything but the best condition for meeting it.

The first step in the line of correction is to make a thorough analysis of the cause of the worry; then set it down on paper, get advice if advice is needed, allot to the matter sufficient time to insure thorough consideration, map out a provisional line of action, write it down, put the paper in a drawer, *and definitely refuse to refer to it again unless the crisis*

arrives. If it should arrive, you have ready at hand an analysis and decision, made when you were absolutely at your best. Meantime, knowing that the matter has had your clearest and best thought, the next step is to rule it out of the mind as completely as any other finished item of the day's work. This can be done both by positive autosuggestion and by instant replacement by another idea (to which is given the full force of imagination), the moment any sign of the worry appears. Once worry is recognized for what it is—fear—the cultural wish to be courageous is a powerful reinforcement for both autosuggestion and replacement. In these circumstances, as always, there is a sure reward for calm, unflinching, smiling courage; and not the least of the reward is the inward sense of growing poise and power.

CHAPTER VII

MAKING A CONTENTED HUMAN GROUP

CONSIDERING the vast amount of effort which has been put forth in philosophical thought and philosophical writing, the relatively slight impression evidenced in human conduct would be amazing if one did not remember that the great majority of human beings have been only slightly, if at all, reached by the profound abstractions and involved reasonings of the savants, and that nearly all of the various systems were founded in the fallacy that a human being is *a priori* governed by reason. Not to go behind the records of authenticated history, it is safe to say that for at least four thousand years the world's thinkers have been trying to map out a route which would both insure content, and be practicable in terms of the major groups. Perhaps their failure to catch the ear and hold the attention of the masses has been in part due to a certain Brahministic contempt of some lofty minds for lesser ones. Possibly, too, if their logic had been less coldly pure, if they had more sympathetically and comprehendingly analyzed the methods and teachings of a certain Nazarene, they might more intimately have reached and more effectively have in-

fluenced the minds of those whom they wished to instruct. The development of their cultural reasoning hid from them more and more the only key which can unlock the doors of rapid progress toward solution of the problems of human relationship. *This key is the fact that men, women and children, are not essentially governed by reason but by instinct and emotion.*

Resist it who will, the truth continues to prevail. Behavioristic psychology demonstrates the fact, and analytical psychology has laid bare the reasons. Tansley, the distinguished Cambridge biologist, states the situation admirably when he says, in *The New Psychology,* ". . . man is not primarily a rational being, though it is by the use of reason alone that he can attain in any degree to the mastery of his destiny. He still relies on reason only where its usefulness is forcibly and immediately brought home to him. . . . the human mind is built up of a bundle of instincts, which, it is true, are kept in check, and therefore often masked, by their interactions, but which are just as much alive and just as vigorous as they were in the days of Neolithic man, which indeed furnish the sole driving power that enables man to do what he does do, good or bad."*

Instead of abstract thinkers and their ethical systems, the need, all along, has been for patient research workers who would search out the springs of action in the individual, accept and present the

* Op. cit.

truth as they found it—regardless of whether or not it flattered their concept of themselves as human beings—and suggest ways in which progress might be made with *relation to* the facts rather than *in spite of them.* This happens to be exactly the process that is followed in all the physical sciences. The ends of constructive progress follow the means of empirical or experimental discovery.

Psychologically, the human race has passed through two main phases to arrive at a third, from which it seems about to begin moving toward a fourth. The first of these, presumably, was individualism; which gave way to the second, the life of the herd and submission of individual will to tribal law, only because of necessity and later the gradual realization that the sacrifice of some of the individual wishes was worth while because of the greater security and comfort. Gradually, as the leadership of the herds became more and more unfit, more and more selfish, oppressive, and unresponsive to the needs and wishes of the mass, there was a growing revolt, a reversion toward individualism again. This reached its highest expression in the American Republic (I use the past tense because individual liberty in America is already being successfully repressed by sections of the herd). Its antithesis has appeared already in the Bolshevik experiment in Russia, psychologically the very apotheosis of reaction, since it reduces the individual to a mere tool of the state.

The trend of our American group toward a more closely knit and more highly coöperative herd spirit, with certain inevitably attendant losses of individual freedom of action, is likely to develop rapidly, for we are an active-minded, energetic people, and the possibilities of unsafe precipitateness in this movement arise, in my opinion, because our leadership is failing both in understanding and in purpose. The reasons for this opinion, with a suggested course of action, will appear in the following pages.

The war of the American Revolution was a war for freedom of the individual. At the root of the Civil War was the same idea. (This is with reference not to the manifest causes, but to the latent ones.) With the close of that war, and the development of industrialism, began the rapid immigration from all the races of Europe. Here on this soil they got together, drawn partly by the prospect of earning more money and partly by the concept of greater personal liberty, to work together as one group. But transplanting an adult to new surroundings does not give him a new psychology. His instincts, to be sure, are part of the instincts of the entire race, but his affect-images and response-models, his entire mental background, are those peculiar to his own people, their habits of thought, customs, religion, taboos, laws, ideas of government.

Among the groups which we absorbed, or rather which are now in process of absorption, were the

psychology of the Irish, the French, the Scotch, the Hebrews, the Germans, the Russians, the Italians, the Poles, the Hungarians, the Austrians, the Scandinavians, the Dutch, the Swiss, and the Greeks. Differing widely among themselves, they differed also with the customs and ideas of the country to which they came; and that country had lost in the Civil War no little proportion of its most virile young minds which, still deeply impregnated with the ideals of the forefathers, might have been a priceless leaven had they survived.

Such a mixture, of entirely indigestible proportions, could only result, speaking in terms of developmental national psychology, in reaching a sort of dead center. This describes our situation at the outbreak of the recent Great War. We were not yet welded together as a nation; we were of one country but not of one blood; and we had not yet entered into that bond of which the sacrament is shedding blood for each other in a common cause. What the war did for America in this respect is beyond the power of estimate. We went into it a collection of friendly races; we came out of it a nation. Whatever may survive of the old habits of racial designation, we are now essentially one people, and our herd consciousness has at last a chance to develop homogeneously. The splendid young millions who went out to fight, suffer, play, laugh, sing, and —some of them—to die, side by side, will, for the greater part, never again see in each other anything but a fellow American.

And now the thing that is to signify in the inevitable swing forward, is a new psychology, a new set of ideas, ideals and aspirations. We need to become thoroughly conscious of that fact and to let it develop within us a new imagination. For my own part I stand not only for class consciousness but, if need be, for a class war. The class that I want to be unceasingly conscious of is the whole American people, and the class on which I hope they will never hesitate to make war is any class whatever, high or low, rich or poor, numerous or few, which stands in the way of the growth of a constructive, forward looking American national psychology. In that sense I believe in class consciousness and class war, and intend to preach both. This aspect of their favorite slogan would disappoint certain militant minds of the radical wing, but it happens that the growth of constructive Americanism is important to more people at present than trying out various radical experiments.

Moreover, it is important not alone to Americans but to the entire world. Man's ability to coöperate does not leap forward centuries in a single bound. Two things stand always in the way. The first is the natural inertia of the average mind, with its closely associated reluctance and caution when far-reaching changes are proposed; the second is the instinctive tendency to put self first and distrust any surrender of hard-won individualism. We have only to observe throughout history the slow progress from tribe to nation, to realize that each step in the

enlargement of coöperative herd consciousness and spirit is necessarily slow. The herd can move effectively only as fast as its preponderant mass. Not until a people has "got together" sufficiently to solve the problems of human relationship within its own borders can that nation reasonably be expected to broaden its effective group consciousness to the point needed for a successful "world state." And this precisely is what stands in the way of immediately realizing the ideal of the League of Nations. The idea of such a confederation appeals readily enough to the reason, but the herd instinct is not yet ready for the responsibilities and consequences inevitably entailed. In this connection the following excerpts from Tansley's chapter on *Partial Herds And Universal Herd** will be of special interest: "Before there can exist an international life which has any reality, and particularly before it can correspond with a sense of world solidarity in the minds of the common people, and thus create a complex of the world herd which alone can give solid support to international organization, a very long road will have to be traversed. When disappointment is expressed because an effective League of Nations cannot be brought into existence in the course of a few months, it is forgotten that we are dealing with the whole of the last stage of social evolution—a tremendous affair which, even with the increased rate of development we may fairly expect,

* Contained in *The New Psychology,* previously cited.

cannot possibly be consummated in a few months or in a few years. . . . But there is certainly no reason to despair. . . . The feet of the world's leading statesmen have been definitely set on that road, the will of a large part of the peoples of the world is towards that goal. . . . The work of the future is the creation of more and more international life and organization, until the world herd becomes a reality in the minds of the peoples. Along with this must go the improvement of the national organisms which will form the constituent parts of the world organism, for it is clearly on these lines, not on the lines of a premature and artificial cosmopolitanism, that solid progress will be realized."

However unacceptable the foregoing may be to proponents of immediate and complete internationalism, the nature of psychological evolution is not likely to change because of their wishes. They are quite right to preach their doctrine; indeed it is to be hoped they will do so unceasingly, in season and out of season; and let them not fear that their effort is lost merely because it does not result in immediate realization. They are doing a tremendous service, sowing seed which will eventually bear fruit of the utmost value to the human race. Meantime let them not forget that the most rapid progress toward their ideal will accrue from the thorough development of American national spirit to higher and higher levels of functioning. The American group, from the nature of its component parts is

peculiarly adapted to understanding other peoples of the world, and should therefore eventually lead in international coöperation.

When we think of ourselves as a complete group, we must realize that this spirit is as yet little more than new-born. Sectional consciousness, a "partial herd" spirit, is still dominant and is the most outstanding feature of our national Congress at Washington. The worker in a New England textile mill is aware that there is such a thing as a California fruit grower, but he has little knowledge of, hence little sympathy with, the fruit grower's problems. What concerns him chiefly is the labor situation and cost of living in Lowell, Manchester, Providence, or wherever he happens to live. And if the situation is viewed in reverse it presents a similar aspect. Again, the Kansas farmer views a New York business man with little sense of fellowship or common interest; Michigan thinks of Florida chiefly as a region of alligators, Palm Beach suits, and occasional lynchings; the Pittsburgh steel worker wonders vaguely whether the Dakota brand of socialism would get shorter hours and more pay for puddlers. And for the most part the representatives they all send to Washington have a far keener eye for local advantage than for national betterment. They have to have, or they could not hold their office against an opponent who was shrewd enough to keep sounding the local key.

This points to a vicious circle; the local influence

upon the legislator's mind, and the legislator in turn stimulating the local consciousness. Here and there a man turns up who has both vision and courage for leadership, and even though he may from time to time be defeated, the country is the richer for his service. Where, we may well inquire, is the tangental force to come from, the force which will start the lines of local action in something other than a circular form?

The answer may be found partly within the circle itself; the newspaper, the school-house, the pulpit and the leading citizen. All four of these stand for a partial herd, a section within the section. The newspaper is mentioned first, because at present the American people is ruled by the newspaper more than by any other force. It looks to its newspapers as the springs of its mental activity. It takes its constructive thought, its opinions, in predigested doses, morning and night. It develops national feeling and national viewpoint to the extent that these are projected in the editorial columns, and in pretty much the same terms. Who does not hear, in the course of a week, man after man and woman after woman saying "I think so and so," when actually the so-called "thought" is merely a repetition of something which has appeared in the local press? Now this is not objectionable. It merely puts upon the shoulders of the editor a responsibility for leadership which very properly belongs there. But for the most part the newspaper, being a commercial

enterprise, is itself a dependent. It can exist only if it is made interesting *and if the merchants of the city are willing it should go on.* There must be always a working compromise with one or more sections of the community. Similarly, both school and church are under a certain degree of control by those who in virtue of their economic power are able to sway, directly or indirectly, the progress of the local group.

This brings us to our leadership. The real leader is not necessarily the man who carries the baton of office at the head of the procession and acknowledges the salutes or dodges the epithets. He is quite as likely to be one who sits at a desk and never thinks of himself as a leader at all but merely as the head of a business which is essential to the community's prosperity. It is precisely in this lack of consciousness of leadership-responsibility that our greatest danger lies.

Fifteen years ago the American people were involved in a determined struggle to free themselves from a leadership which had become intolerable. Both national and local governments had, some years before, come under the dominance of a group of business adventurers whose money-madness outstripped the world's most advanced previous records for personal greed. From the city ward to the floor of the Senate, they picked their tools; if laws stood in their way they evaded them, had new ones made, or openly defied them; but ferocious and un-

scrupulous as their actions and motives were, essentially heartless and cruel as those of any Hun who sank a hospital ship, this leadership had at least one virtue—that of actually leading. Those leaders steered the ship, maintained headway, and avoided rocks. Their course, however, was so opposed to the sense of fairness within the herd that eventually it had to be abandoned.

As a not unnatural consequence, we have been left in the peculiar position of having no dominant leadership at all. Merciless exposure, some legal punishments, and the overwhelming condemnation of public opinion, left the older capitalistic methods in thoroughly bad odor, to say nothing of the fact that they became definitely dangerous. Big business, caught in the whirlwind of its own making, cried quits; and its more far-seeing directors set themselves to the task of harmonizing with the law of the group. Meantime the younger generation of business men, to whom the leadership should have descended, were left without a serviceable model of action; and they more and more concentrated attention on their own affairs, leaving politics to politicians. The leadership should have descended to them *because, in a capitalist state, capital must accept full responsibility for the welfare of the group.*

This is basic. If capital shirks its responsibility there are leaders of a far different class who are neither afraid, nor hesitant in pressing their per-

suasion. The herd cannot exist as a herd without leaders. If capital is too busy, or is too selfish, or will not lead constructively, wisely, and coöperatively, capital will find itself replaced. In my opinion, such replacement would result in unimaginable decay and calamity, because the American herd is far from having developed as yet an individual psychology which could make a social state successful. But the fact that an experiment in socialism would be foredoomed to failure does not make it any the less to be avoided.

Let us consider for a moment the recent view of H. G. Wells, whose mind is probably better equilibrated on the problem than that of any other present-day writer. In his *Outline of History** he says: "The gist of the socialist proposal is that land and all the natural means of production, transit and distribution shall be collectively owned. Within these limits there is to be much free private ownership and unrestricted personal freedom. Given efficient administration, it may be doubted whether many people nowadays would dispute that proposal. But socialism has never gone on to a thorough examination of that proviso for efficient administration. . . .

"Again what community is it that is to own the collective property; is it to be the sovereign, or the township, or the county, or the nation or mankind?

* *An Outline of History,* by H. G. Wells. The Macmillan Co., New York. Quoted by permission of the publishers and author. Copyright 1920, 1921, by H. G. Wells.

Socialism makes no clear answer. . . . If socialists object to a single individual claiming a mine or a great stretch of agricultural land as his own individual property, with a right to refuse or barter its use and profit to others, why should they permit a single nation to monopolize the mines or trade routes or natural wealth of the territories in which it lives, against the rest of mankind? . . . And unless human life is to become a mass meeting of the race in permanent session, how is the community to appoint its officers to carry on its collective concerns?

"This question of administration, the sound and adequate bar to much immediate socialization, brings us to the still largely unsolved problem of human association. How are we to secure the best direction of human affairs and the maximum of willing coöperation with that direction? This is ultimately a complex problem in Psychology, but it is absurd to pretend that it is an insoluble one. There must be a definite best, which is the right thing, in these matters. . . . The problem in its completeness involves the working out of the best methods in the following departments, and their complete correlation:

"(I) Education.—The preparation of the individual for an understanding and willing coöperation in the world's affairs.

"(II) Information.—The continual truthful presentation of public affairs to the individual for his

judgment and approval. Closely connected with this need for current information is the codification of the law, the problem of keeping the law plain, clear, and accessible to all.

"(III) Representation.—The selection of representatives and agents to act in the collective interest in harmony with the general will based on this education and plain information.

"(IV) The Executive.—The appointment of executive agents and the maintenance of means for keeping them responsible to the community, without at the same time hampering intelligent initiative.

"(V) Thought and Research.—The systematic criticism of affairs and laws to provide data for popular judgments, and through those judgments to ensure the secular improvement of the human organization."

This program is reasonable, and is wholly in line with the ideals of patriotic, forward-looking Americans. Moreover, there is in the ranks of American business sufficient intelligence, of the most highly energized sort, to set it on the way toward realization, if the business men will only take the initiative which is their rightful responsibility. Capital's opportunity is literally staring it in the face. Every item of the necessary machinery is ready to hand without the need of a day's preparation. The Chambers of Commerce, and the Rotary Clubs, are well organized and capable of working together—not to mention a dozen other nation-wide associations of essentially the same class of membership.

The newspapers, for the most part, would coöperate gladly. But more even than organization, is needed the *individual* consciousness and acceptance of the opportunity.

In the hurried activity of our business life, the tendency is to organize the individual out of existence. The rapid discharge of a multiplicity of affairs has given rise to the custom of appointing committees, deputizing them to discharge certain functions, and then dismissing the business until they report. This frees the main body from all interim consideration of the matters deputed. That alone will not serve for the purposes here being outlined. Each and every man must constitute himself a committee of one, with power to think constructively and to talk his thoughts out with his wife, his friends, and anyone anywhere who will listen. He should regard himself as a life member of an American Institute of Public Service.

In what way, it may well be asked, should this program of bettering American life begin? There is no better way than hitting, as a famous pugilist once put it, from where the hand is. Let progress begin in the home community, and let its first move be the determination that that community shall have healthful surroundings, material comfort and clean government. Suppose the business men of a given city have had the energy and intelligence to create one hundred million dollars' worth of manufacturing enterprises within its borders; and suppose these men should put their heads together and firmly

decide that within five years there should not be a slum in their city, or a man, woman, or child who was without adequate shelter, food and clothes. It would take a daring gambler to wager against their having the necessary brains to achieve what they had willed to achieve. And suppose such a group pledged itself to the same purpose in every American city. How long would it be before the "apostle of destruction" found himself preaching to empty street corners? The vast majority of the people in this country is essentially cheerful and basically fair-minded. Once convinced of the honesty and faithfulness of his leader, the average man, as the war proved, will follow that leader "through hell and laugh at the hot weather." I repeat, Capital's opportunity is at its very door. But it will not wait forever. I have several times within the past year discussed with business men a simple, practical plan for putting the movement in operation, and their response has led me to believe that neither the spirit nor the flesh is weak. But much wider discussion is needed to get prompt action.

So much for leadership. And what part can we the people play in our own progress? Theoretically whatever we want under our system of government we can get; but actually we do not get it, and our tendency is to criticise the government, which we usually speak of vaguely as "they" and blame for everything from the high cost of living to a leak in the roof. We sometimes listen with a sort of half belief to our radical friends who ex-

citedly declare that the whole trouble arises from a certain type of evil-minded capitalists whose chief aim in life is to keep us under their heels. We know—and so do they—that this is not really the case, but it helps us to get rid of a certain uneasy consciousness that we are not discharging as we ought to our own duties of citizenship.

The fact is we have neither made up our minds as a coöperative body as to just what we want, nor reached the point where we are willing to give any appreciable part of our time or thought to getting it. We don't want to be bothered. We would rather "let George do it." Each one of us, within his limits, is to a certain extent capable of leading, but each of us to a much larger extent would rather be led than do the leading. It does not matter whether we consider this from the attitude of the man who would rather spend election day at the golf club than in helping to elect honest, capable officials, or the attitude of the woman who prefers a bridge game to a mother's meeting, or the attitude of the man who would not be willing to give up the pinochle club for a neighborhood welfare council one evening a week without fail. The fact is always there, that not ten per cent, probably not five per cent of us, are willing to give a regular and effective part of our energy to the conduct of the community business and finding ways to improve conditions. Moreover, as soon as something progressive is undertaken and we do by some chance bestir ourselves, at the first defeat or disagreement we get disgusted

with people's stupidity and wash our hands of further participation in public affairs. Suppose our forefathers had exhibited the same attitude when they were pushing out the frontiers of civilization—how far would they have got? They did a big job, did it with courage, patience, industry, and unfailing determination. They built an empire because of these whole-man and whole-woman qualities. Shall we of this generation dishonor them by shirking the equally important job of making ourselves a people worthy of the empire?

We can get what we want as soon as we want it hard enough to translate the wish into action. In reduction of crime, for example, whenever we the people get sick of being held up on the street by thugs and shot down, or beaten over the head, we can put a stop to it; but we have first to become personally, individually, every one of us, thoroughly sick of it. As long as it does not touch us directly, or any of our friends, we feel vaguely upset about it, we more or less curse the police and the city government, but we do not feel strongly enough about it to organize ourselves effectively and make it our business to see that every perpetrator of a crime of violence shall be segregated from organized society to accomplish that result. The criminal preys on society because he has a first-class chance to get away with the spoils and retain his freedom. The only thing which will restrain him is the knowledge that he will be hunted down until he is caught if the hunt has to cover half the world. His type of mind

is peculiarly susceptible to the influence of prolonged fear. As soon as he knows that his chances of ultimate prison or death are ninety-five in a hundred, we shall see crimes of violence dwindling toward the vanishing point; never quite to reach that point but approaching it to a highly beneficial degree. We can get that result in a comparatively short time, whenever we really determine as one body that we will have it.

Similarly, our educational system will respond to our collective wishes when those wishes become strong enough. We can have our children taught, and brought up, with no such thing as needless fear in their education. Fear has its uses; it can be a valuable reminder which assists in self restraint. But it has far more abuses than uses, and its after effects may be disastrous, particularly to the sensitive child with a neurotic constitution. We can turn our neighborhood moving-picture theatres into places of education, constructive suggestion, and community welfare, as well as of entertainment; we can remove from them entirely the elements of cheap frivolity, lewd suggestion and criminal heroics, with which so many of them deck their portals. Assuredly we shall do the latter when we have become sufficiently disgusted with the sight of our young daughters smearing themselves with paint and powder and taking a popular "vamp" as their model of conduct. We can have efficient local government as soon as we decide that public service instead of wealth shall be the route to honor and public esteem; and as soon

as our popular will decrees that making a government official the target of partisan abuse shall cease. Public office in America has become discredited quite as much through unlicensed mud-slinging as it has through misconduct of men in office.

Let us take a series of sketches, in which are outlined certain psychological formative factors, and compare them with results. Perhaps in no other way could we get so graphic an idea of where we stand today and the sort of changes which we need to institute.

GERMANY

Formative Factors:—I quote the following from Wells as being an admirable statement of what produced the Prussian spirit which made itself so hideously felt in the late war.

". . . the student of universal history should give some thought to the mental growth of the generation of Germans educated since the victories of 1871. They were naturally inflated by their sweeping unqualified successes in war, and by their rapid progress from comparative poverty to wealth. It would have been more than human in them if they had not given way to some excesses of patriotic vanity. But this reaction was deliberately seized upon and developed by a systematic exploitation and control of school and college, literature and press, in the interests of the Hohenzollern dynasty. A teacher, a professor, who did not teach and preach in and out of season, the racial, moral, intellectual,

and physical superiority of the Germans to all other peoples, their extraordinary devotion to war and dynasty, and their inevitable destiny under that dynasty to lead the world, was a marked man, doomed to failure and obscurity. . . . All other nations were represented as incompetent and decadent; the Prussians were the leaders and regenerators of mankind. The young German read this in his school books, heard it in church, found it in his literature, had it poured into him with passionate conviction by his professors. It was poured into him by *all* his professors. . . . Only minds of extraordinary toughness and originality could resist such a torrent of suggestion . . . it cannot be too clearly stated . . . that the German people was methodically indoctrinated with the idea of a world-predominance based on might, and with the theory that war was a necessary thing in life."*

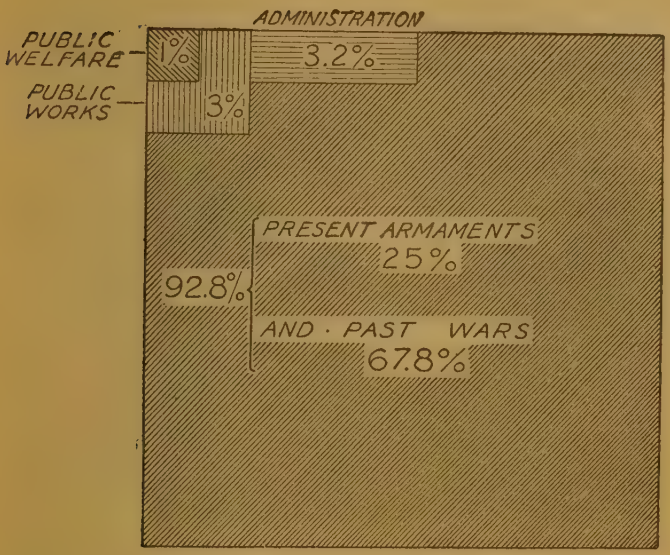
Continuing, Wells in turn reproduces from Sir Thomas Barclay's article on "Peace" in the *Encyclopedia Britannica,* a quotation from Nietzsche which may well be regarded as the very text of German national philosophy. Thus Nietzsche:—"It is mere illusion and petty sentiment to expect much (even anything at all) from mankind if it forgets how to make war. As yet no means are known which call so much into action that rough energy born of the camp, that deep impersonality born of hatred, that conscience born of murder and cold-bloodedness, that fervor born of effort in the annihilation of the

* *An Outline of History,* by H. G. Wells, previously cited.

enemy, that proud indifference to loss, to one's own existence, to that of one's fellows . . . as a great war."

No doubt if Nietzsche could have formulated his philosophy after a year in the front-line trenches at Ypres, or while acting as assistant in a hospital filled with badly-gassed men coughing out their tortured lungs and writhing to their death-agony, he would still have announced the same views. The mania for pain and blood can become insatiable—particularly in some forms of insanity.

The ready associations to the word, or idea, of "gun," are such as "shot"—"wound"—"blood"—"death." A gun is a symbol of power and aggression. This is one of the reasons why it appeals to the primitive in a boy. If he is brought up on it, he may reasonably be expected to want to use it. Moreover, its associations, being always connected with a desired symbol, become deeply implanted as affect-images that are longed for rather than abhorred. Reinforce them through all the formative years with such methods and ideas as we have been describing in the quotations, and we shall have a man who may be expected to welcome war exactly as the Prussians welcomed it. To expect anything else would be blind folly, from the point of view of psychology. What it has cost the world in suffering is beyond all computation. What it cost our own country in money is graphically pictured in the following chart.



APPORTIONMENT OF UNITED STATES INCOME, 1919–1920.

Total appropriations for year ending June 30, 1920, $5,686,005,706.00.

1% devoted to Public Welfare, divided approximately as follows: Agriculture and development of natural resources, $\frac{3}{4}$; Education, $\frac{1}{8}$; Public Health, $\frac{1}{14}$; Labor, 1/100.

3% devoted to Public Works: Harbors, Rivers, Roads, Parks, etc.

3.2% devoted to Administration: Expenses of Congress, President, Departments, etc.

92.8% devoted to Present Armaments and Past Wars: Includes care of soldiers, pensions, railroad deficit, Shipping Board, interest on debt, European food relief, etc.

(From figures compiled by E. B. Rosa, Chief Physicist, United States Bureau of Standards in 1920.)

RUSSIA

Formative Factors:—Looking back upon the Russia of seven years ago we have the picture of a corrupt despotism in its last stages. A vast domain, the rudimentary coalescence of many tribes, loosely held together by force and by the partial ties of racial and lingual similarity. A country of great natural resources so poorly developed and so inadequately distributed that the average standard of living was low. A religion compounded partly of the Christian faith, partly of Czar worship, partly of ikon worship, partly of sheer supersition. An educational system that left great masses of people in illiterate ignorance, and for the rest taught only what the court cabal allowed to be taught, interdicting all study of free governments or the progress of free peoples. A press which could appear only after the most autocratic censorship had made its columns worthless as reflectors of human events or human thought. The home of a considerable population of Jews who were kept in partial segregation and used as a periodic outlet for the murderous hatred of the rest of the masses whose sense of oppression had to vent itself on some human objective at any cost. A system of espionage which reached into every nook and corner of the Empire, which made thought itself dangerous, which might even record the utterances of sleep as treasonable

to the Czar, and which was constantly being used, both by its directors and its operatives, to further private vengeance. A system of punishment which sent its thousands upon thousands in a despairing stream away into the bitter exile of Siberia to live out a mad life of separation from family in grinding toil and privation.

Meantime, through all the cities and towns filtered the doctrines of a courageous few who had the vision of revolt and freedom, and dared to whisper it in the ears of those who could be trusted. From one to another the doctrine passed, promising that with the end of the Czar and his group there should be a new Russia of freedom, plenty, and equal distribution of all produced wealth. It was to be a system in which the present owners of wealth should become the servants of the proletariat. The man of property was described as a tyrant, in league with his fellows to enslave the workers and keep them in bondage. Every worker was to have a part in the new government, and Russia was to be the enlightener of the world.

With the day of freedom came the terrible fruits. The tribes fell apart, the antiquated and worn out systems of communication broke down and ceased to function. The mere possession of property standing as a symbol of oppression, the long repressed masses soon turned upon the owners of property as their arch enemies, took away their property and brought them face to face with four

alternatives—death, prison, flight from the country, or servitude of the meanest and humblest sort. As a functioning unit, the trained business brains of the country ceased in a few months to be effective. With the seizure of power by the Bolsheviki, there came into direction of affairs a group of men who were for the most part idealists of undoubted sincerity but unpractised, unskilled in administrative details; also, because of their doctrines, unable to make a working compromise with other governments. Chained to their promises and bound by the assurances they had given, the program they had preached, there was nothing for it but the utter destruction of every vestige of capitalism, the reduction of everything to communism.

Now communism is a coöperative theory which *ipso facto* can be practised only if the individual yields completely to the herd. It requires virtually a complete self-abnegation, a superseding of the primitive self-seeking by the highest cultural self-sacrifice; in brief, it calls for the last and highest level of intelligence, a level far beyond anything to be found in any considerable part of the world's masses today or likely to exist among them for a long time to come. That one hundred and fifty million mentally untrained people could be expected to function at this level was a beautiful dream but a terrible unreality. As the truth of this gradually came home to the Bolshevik leaders, they were faced with the dilemma of yielding up their dream (and their per-

sonal power) or putting the individual in bondage to the state by force. If the toiler, remembering the promised Utopia of ease and plenty, would not toil, he must be made to. If the peasant, mindful of the stomachs of his own family, would not turn into the common chest the food which he had raised by his labor on the soil, then that food must be taken from him by force. To be sure there was nothing to give him in exchange—no tools, clothing, or household necessities—but pieces of valueless paper bearing the old capitalist symbol of "ruble." That, however, could not be allowed to stand in the way. If communism would not work without despotism, then there was nothing for it but to be despotic. Meantime, the failures of the system could be charged to foreign persecution.

To a certain limited extent such a charge was just. There is no question but that the foreign blockade intensified the misery of the situation. The Bolshevik party had postulated its entire program on the assertion that the proletariats of all the world would arise and join in their assumption of power, their wrecking of the present order, and their operation of society on a communistic basis. There had never been any sound reason for such an assertion, but, as before pointed out, mankind is at present guided by wish more than by reason, and the Bolshevik shares the common human tendency to state things as one wishes they were rather than as they actually are. There is nothing exceptional or as-

tonishing in the fact that the radical should try to get his way in spite of such trifling obstacles as individual and group psychology. It is a fault common to kings and capitalists, as well as to communists. The sad thing for the world is that all of them are so slow to see it.

The end-product of the Russian formative factors is, in the extent of its disaster, second only to what was the end of the Prussian formative factors. Let us turn now to consideration of our own country.

AMERICA

Formative Factors:—Attention has been sufficiently called to the sectionalism and the racial mixture, but it is essential that these should be clearly borne in mind throughout the picture. The "Solid South," always in contact with its negro problem, relying mainly upon one crop peculiar to its own region, identified steadily with a minority political party, is acutely conscious of itself apart from the nation. The "Far West," geographically separated by a great mountain range, troubled by the rapid increase of a race which it cannot assimilate and whose customs and habits of life it cannot accept, is insistently demanding attention to its Pacific problem and is naturally provoked at the lack of sympathetic understanding on the part of the states three thousand miles away.

The city banker is incensed at the agrarian populists of the Northwest for throwing the financial

system partially out of gear. The farmer everywhere is discontented with the unequal distribution of labor, the inadequate provision for financing his crops, the grip which packer, terminal owner, and commission merchant, have on the products of his industry. Each city wishes to grow at the expense of the country and of other cities. Organized labor is determined to dominate its market; exactly as the motto of the former railroad executive was, "All the traffic will bear." The landlord proposes to get from the hapless and helpless tenant the last ultimate penny that can be squeezed from the shrinking income. As signs of trouble appear on the horizon a great group of Wall Street speculators leaps upon the financial market like a pack of wolves; from a thousand gambling stations come the selling orders, hurling upon the market millions of shares of stock which are not owned, in the effort to precipitate a condition of near-panic. With the crumbling prices comes a wave of depression and gloom which spreads to every community, discourages business men, closes pocket-books, checks the current of buying and selling, stops projected enterprises, stills the hum of factories, ties up capital in unsold inventories, empties stores of customers, and starts the bread-line.

All this signifies the pursuit of money. It signifies it as a pursuit without regard to the other fellow and as a major aim in life. Let us glance briefly at some of the influences surrounding an

American boy during the last thirty years. The ideal of success held before him on all sides was to be rich, an ideal of material acquisition and possession. To this was added an unvarying series of models of individual aggression and competition. He was told to honor Abraham Lincoln, but not to forget that the great thing was to beat the other fellow to the punch. He heard frequently that a man's bank account is his best friend, and that business is business (reminiscent somehow of the spirit of another phrase which we have come to view at close quarters, lately—"war is war"). Once in a great while he saw in the papers the picture of a scientist or teacher who had worked for humanity; but every Sunday he saw printed a dozen pictures of rich idle women at luxurious pleasure resorts, and always he observed that a front-page column was given to the benefactions of a rich adventurer who decided to give back to society some of the millions he had made in exploiting its necessities. He heard the doctor spoken of with affection, the pastor with something of respectful tolerance, but the rich man with envy. At every turn the power-symbol before him was money. He even heard that money would buy a seat in the United States Senate. Approval and esteem, then, were a matter of price and possessions. At school and on the street he found that the model was aggressive competition, the triumph of strong over weak. From his earliest years it was, "Willie, can you lick Jack—or can Jack lick you?"

He saw that the teacher was not highly respected in the community and he soon learned that she was poorly paid, hence unimportant to the average eye. He saw that his companions had no respect for law, he imitated them and learned to think of laws and rules as made to be broken, and of breaking them as an amusing pastime; it was a sort of game, in which the idea was to see how far one could go and escape punishment. Property was a thing to be respected only if he or his family owned it. Possession of an automobile meant an opportunity for particularly spectacular and gratifying defiance of the rights and safety of others. For a dime he could buy a "novel" which gave him hours of association with fascinatingly heroic and daring criminals. With the coming of the cheap movie theatre he saw trains robbed, safes blown, women abducted; and he received at the Unconscious primitive level of his mind the strongest suggestions of aggression and lawlessness.

I have no thought of minimizing the importance of all the influences which have gone counter to the foregoing. Our psychology is not all destructive, nor are our ideals lacking in persistent efforts at expression. Far from it. With the exception of the Swiss, I believe the American group is farther along the road toward coöperative intelligence than any other in the world; and moreover, there are movements under headway such as the Rotarians, the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, the Industrial As-

sociations (of which the one at Cleveland is an admirable model), which show that the trend toward a higher level of herd spirit is growing rapidly. But we cannot afford to blind ourselves to the false goals which we have permitted to become models for millions of us and which are outstanding factors of our present situation. It is not yet too late to mend. We are a quick-minded people, readily responsive to intelligent and sincere leadership.

THE AMERICA TO BE WORKED FOR

The series of sketches would not be complete without one that embodied some of the formative factors which are both practicable and immediately desirable. Let us suppose an America in which the following is true:

As soon as the children get into school they are organized into little coöperative groups, mainly self-governing, the older groups being the executive and judicial bodies, under the leadership of the teachers. The policing of the school is in the hands of the scholars, with responsibility divided between boys and girls, and the code of conduct is the golden rule, which is inset on a metal plate in every desk, printed on the fly-leaf of every book, and *recited in the form of a pledge* by the entire school at the commencement of each session. Two or three times a week, each teacher takes five minutes at the close of the day to report the most notable example of coöperation that has come to her attention, not sen-

timentally but in precisely the same spirit as mention of a soldier in despatches. The ideal held before every child is that to win honor and esteem there must be something achieved in the way of help to another. Disputes shall invariably be settled by one or more referees. Arrogant or bullying conduct will bring instant suspension and segregation from the group until it is atoned for. The science of town, city, state and national government will be taught progressively to all pupils from the age of ten years upward, not so much by books as by daily class experiment, with original problems for individual solution. From the age of twelve years, there will be, at least twice a week, critical review *by the pupils themselves,* of all local newspapers, with occasional extension of the criticism to other newspapers and periodicals. Teachers will be well paid, thoroughly educated, and thoroughly trained in applied child psychology.

At home the child will hear and see at all times a deep, genuine respect for law, order, and the property as well as the rights and feelings of others. He will hear men and women admired most for public service and not at all for their possessions. He will see in his father and mother the example of two people who, without being in the least fanatical, are seriously interested in American progress and are doing their honest bit in their own neighborhood. He will find on the reading-table newspapers which criticize public officials constructively rather than

with partisan bias and hatred; which have replaced their "society" columns with newsy "human interest" paragraphs about inventions, discoveries, household arts, books, foreign life, scientists and their work, the thousand and one activities of the world's busy people; which ignore the idle, give scandal and crime the dignified condemnation which each deserves, and reflect always a forward-looking view of American citizenship.

If on reaching maturity he goes to work in a factory, he will find there a social center with a good restaurant, a good dancing floor, ample athletic equipment for games indoor and outdoor, a library, a small stage, and a man or woman in charge who knows how to keep things moving. It will be run exactly like a club and his small dues will be proportionate to his wages. From time to time he will meet there all the members of the executive staff—including the Big Boss himself—because the leaders who are really going to lead must have a common ground where they may know their men, and be known by them, as human beings.

The foregoing is in some respects a simple program, yet it cannot be realized without a most determined, and probably prolonged, effort on the part of millions. Some such effort must, nevertheless, be made if our nation is to go forward. Human groups which have become mentally quickened do

not remain static. The example of Greece and Rome should be sufficient to remind us that failure to progress means sure regression. Our fate is in our own hands. From primordial individualism to primitive herd; from primitive herd, in which the individual was completely submerged, like any buffalo of the earlier days on our western plains—and with relatively little more independence of thought or action; to the advanced individualism of today, wherein we jealously assert and defend our personal autonomy, our personal liberty, as a priceless heritage; mankind has moved through three principal phases of development. Whether personal liberty has found in American life its highest expression, is not for the moment important. Certainly it has made men happier, has quickened both mind and imagination, and has enormously increased the sense of, and capacity for, responsibility. These gains must be held. But also it has brought new frictions, new conflicts, new discontents, new crossings of purposes. These can be resolved only by a further—and perhaps the last—major phase of human development, the stage of *fully enlightened coöperation.*

Assuredly this will involve partial resubmission of the individual to the greater welfare of the group. But we have nothing to fear from this concept, since, in simple logic, complete individualism can exist only in a state of anarchy. In a broad, generous and practical spirit of coöperation we may create in

our American commonwealth a group in which the personal rights of every man and woman are fairly recognized without permitting them to supervene above the welfare of the whole. Doubtless we must expect determined resistance both from those who invoke the law to protect selfish privilege and those who value license above harmonic progress, but the goal is perhaps the most inspiring that has ever been within reach of human endeavor.

Fortunately for the spirit of cheerful undertaking, a clock is required to tick only one beat at a time. We need not ask of ourselves that we do more than today's work today. The point is to begin doing it now and not wait until we have forgotten to do it at all; for the America of tomorrow is our job, a job big enough and splendid enough to enlist us all, from the smallest school-child to the mightiest intellect between the two oceans.

CHAPTER VIII

THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY IN ADVERTISING AND SELLING

THE material in this section is to be partly an expansion in greater detail of that presented in my lectures to the Advertising Clubs of Cleveland, St. Louis, and other cities; as well as a description of some analytical methods which, under proper direction, can be put into service with practical results of the greatest value. The matter is included in this book because an understanding of the basic principles shown in the early sections, particularly those dealing with the "Operating Tower," the Unconscious, and Suggestion, is essential to its comprehension. The sense of proportion forbids any such broad treatment as my note-books tempt me to undertake, but within the compass of a section of reasonable size I believe it may be possible to pass along material which will suggest to advertising men, salesmen, and merchandising men generally, the value of studying the deeper layers of the mind on which they have to produce a favorable affect.

As matters stand today, the average standard of advertising is very much higher than the average standard of personal salesmanship, particularly if

we include the retail store in our calculations. This is due in part to the fact that advertising, from its very nature, attracted men and women in whom the faculty of imagination is highly developed. Advertising, however, is a more complex art than most of the direct selling, and there is quite as much room for improvement in the one as in the other. Neither can ever be made an exact science, but both can be brought much nearer to it than they are now. It is really only a few years since the direction of both advertising and selling, from the plan of campaign to the ultimate customer-contact, was entirely based on personal opinion, with experience as a rough guide but without any accurate knowledge of the mechanisms or the mental machinery through which effects can be secured.

Even today the situation in this respect has gone through comparatively little change. Personal opinion wrought out and crystallized through conferences, is the chief factor, rather than consideration of known mental processes. Some of the results are astonishingly good, and reveal in themselves how nearly intuition may approach exact knowledge. It is nevertheless true that there is tremendous waste both in advertising and in personal sales effort. Every advertising manager, every sales manager, knows this to be the case, and the best of them are always tirelessly seeking for ways, means and methods which will make the work of their departments more efficient. Business has scarcely yet

begun to realize the extraordinary earnestness, farsightedness and energy exemplified by such a movement, such a remarkable organization, as the Associated Advertising Clubs of America with its provision for intensive study of every phase of its problems.

I once heard a very intelligent agent of the old school remark that good advertising could be summed up as "projecting the story of your goods into the minds of a large group of people." At the time I thought the definition excellent; but in the light of our present knowledge of the mind we can see at once that it is not only inadequate but actually lacking in a most vital element. Good advertising, and for that matter good selling also, *is the active association of one's goods with an acquisitive complex already existing at the Unconscious level; and a definite avoidance of all associations which can entail resistance.* This does not imply that the complex may not have a conscious level also. It merely places the emphasis where it belongs. Advertising works through the mechanisms of suggestion, and we know that suggestion takes effect most readily when it reaches and stimulates an Unconscious affect. Tansley* defines suggestibility as "the readiness to receive and adopt as part of the mental content suggestions of all sorts, whether arising from within the mind or from some outside source." Continuing he remarks: "There seems to be a *prima facie* readiness to accept suggestions of any sort and from any

* Op. cit.

source; but this is limited in certain directions by a refusal to accept those arising from certain sources which the mind regards as hostile or suspect, and also others which definitely conflict with a strong well-marked complex already present; and the readiness is enhanced in the case of suggestions arising from sources which the mind regards as possessing *authority,* and in the case of suggestions in harmony with pre-existing complexes. . . .

"The power of suggestion on the human mind is well known, and is deliberately employed by teachers, pastors and therapeutists, as well as by demagogues and advertisement writers—indeed by all whose desire or business it is to influence the minds of others. Their success depends precisely on the skill with which they connect the suggestion which they wish to see adopted with some complex pre-existing in the minds of their audience."

He goes on to point out that the mind is peculiarly susceptible to suggestion during the hypnotic state. This we know to be because during states of somnolence, or even of reverie, the Unconscious is more accessible. Suggestion is not by any means the whole of advertising and selling, but it is the basis.

There are certain observations on Tansley's statement which may be helpful before proceeding. Salesmen may well note the significance of the clause concerning refusal to accept suggestions arising from sources which are regarded as hostile or suspect. This directly applies to the *personal* reaction of the

customer to the salesperson, and will be more fully discussed later. The clause relating to suggestions which *conflict with complexes already present* touches the very heart of resistance to advertising and will be fully dealt with in both its positive and negative aspects. The clause concerning the authoritativeness of suggestion is important for further consideration, both as touching advertisements and as touching the equipment of a salesperson. The association of advertisement writers with demagogues, teachers, pastors and therapeutists may well bring a smile to all who know the difference between the advertising situation in England and in America, but our critical faculty had better be directed at the words "deliberately employed."

A glance at the pages of our newspapers supplies ample evidence that if all advertisement writers are deliberately making use of the power of suggestion they certainly have much to learn about the mechanisms through which suggestion takes effect in the human mind. Nothing could be truer, however, than the statement that their success depends upon the skill with which they connect their suggestion with a complex already existing in the minds of their readers; except that there should emphatically be added, *the skill with which they avoid stimulating affects which will give rise to resistance.*

The *preliminary* state of mind of the man who wishes to sell goods *needs to be as nearly as possible the state of mind of the men or women to whom he*

hopes to sell them. Yet I have found comparatively few who have taken the trouble to acquire this state of mind by actual experience or actual absorptive contact. I have seen the plans for the investment of hundreds of thousands of dollars in advertising, concocted around an office desk or lunch-table by three or four men who were no more in touch with the mental states, habits and general attitude of the people they were going to address than if they had lived in a different country. I have seen a million dollars' worth of space-schedules, designs and copy, passed by a man whose only view of the class to whom he wished to sell was from the window of his limousine, and who never once inquired whether anyone concerned with the work really knew that class from personal association. One thousand dollars—one-tenth of one per cent—devoted to accurate association tests, would have provided exact data for the entire campaign, eliminating any question of personal opinion or guesswork. Similarly I have known of a sales manager addressing a meeting of his force and telling them that they must go to the factory and learn all about how the goods were made, but entirely forgetting the importance of learning how the minds of customers functioned, what were their habits of thought and their strongest interests.

For convenience of grouping it will perhaps be well to consider separately some of the psychological methods and mechanisms applicable to advertising and selling.

ADVERTISING

This begins logically with the name of the goods. Many a campaign is heavily handicapped at the outset by a name which arouses unguessed resistances. I have been able to conduct extensive association experiments along this line, and the results are sufficiently conclusive to indicate that thousands of manufacturers are unwittingly encountering tremendous buying resistance through unfortunate associations with the trade-mark names of their featured products. The mechanism of association has been described in the chapter which dealt with the case of conversion hysteria so that we may at once proceed to examine certain sets of ideas which came into the minds of people when various trade-mark names were put before them on the test board or on separate sheets of paper.

1. The name of a certain automobile. Among the many associations which came up, three out of eight people thought of a notorious and revolting criminal case. Two others thought at once of a slang word, sounding much like the name of the car, which is a common term of belittlement and contempt. The car, though splendidly made, has never become widely popular.

2. A breakfast food. Liberal advertising failed to popularize an excellent product the name of which suggested, to six people out of ten, a common suffix which is used to indicate a substitute for something real.

3. A soap. Associations were taken from nine people. Three men thought of a certain noxious insect which was indigenous to the trenches during the late war. Two women thought of caustic disinfectants and rough skin. (It should be remembered that the minds are carefully prepared beforehand by the operator so that there will be no attitude of criticism. The associations form spontaneously). The soap is excellent but has a most limited sale. It is in marked contrast to another soap of far inferior quality which has a very wide sale—and the associations to the name of which were nearly one hundred per cent pleasing, and more than fifty per cent related to beauty.

4. The name of a tobacco product, which, it is responsibly reported, costs more to advertise, per unit of sale, than any other widely distributed brand. Associations taken in both Europe and America. The European reports are not experimentally accurate, but of the American association-sheets sixty-seven per cent show a series of unpleasant ideas aroused by name and package.

5. The name of a piano which from its quality and price should have been extremely popular, but has not been. Associations were taken with eleven women and one man. In seven of the sheets, appearing in some immediately, in others farther along in the chain of words and thoughts, were ideas connected with death and funerals. The makers may well wonder why their excellent instrument is so unconsciously resisted.

6. The name of a well-known and deservedly popular mineral water. Seven out of ten sheets of association-words contained such ideas as "purity," "clearness," "coolness," "refreshment." Both name and label produced an ideal group of associations for the sale of this product.

7. Corsets. Fourteen women supplied associations to the name of an admittedly well-designed and well-made kind which has not been commercially a success. The associations of eight out of the group included ideas of constriction, suffocation and rigidness. Only two associated an idea of beauty with the name.

The foregoing examples should be sufficient illustration of the importance of knowing in advance the sort of ideas and affects which are surely going to be stimulated by the name of a product. The fact that the dual censorship prevents these ideas from instantly coming through to conscious recognition does not interfere with their qualifying the impression of, or rather the reaction to, the goods. The situation is the same as that which occurs to all of us from time to time when we encounter someone in whom we can find no apparent fault, yet whom, for some unknown reason, we cannot like. It is usually the case that there is an unconscious group of associations which have unpleasant affects. Thorough analysis rarely fails to bring these to light.

The naming problem at once divides itself into two parts. There is the question of what to do about a name that has been proved undesirable, and

what to do about naming a new product. As to the first question, it may be doubted if there is ever any wisdom in continuing a campaign against strong associative resistances. The long-range view would seem to me to be that changes had better be made even though this involves considerable trouble and some temporary loss. Personally, I would rather trade horses in midstream than ride a lame one all my life, particularly if I could be assured that with reasonable care and foresight I could get a good one in the exchange. As to the second question, perhaps the most effective answer will be to describe a simple method of making association tests.

Let us suppose that the article to be named is some sort of women's toilet preparation. The strongest unconscious affect which can be stimulated in this connection is the desire for beauty. But we must not stop there, because we wish to sell the article to thousands of women who know that they are not beautiful, who have given up all idea of ever being beautiful, and to whom in fact an over-emphasis of the beauty idea is rather painful. Let us then qualify the idea of beauty with the more general idea of enhanced attractiveness. We may now be certain of favorable affect and pleasurable associations in the minds of practically all. This gives specific direction to the search for a name. It must be one which will suggest ideas of enhanced attractiveness not confined to the original possession of featural beauty. The field of possibilities is wide,

including names of mythological or historical characters, plays upon the names of objects, flowers, colors, combinations of significant syllables, etc. Out of these may be selected a large list, of which each name should be studied to ascertain how it lends itself to design and illustration. The dozen or so which best combine the desired elements are now ready for testing.

Have each name printed in simple legible characters; not too heavy, *and in no way decorative,* at the head of two dozen large sheets of plain white paper. The sheets should then be collated in sets, each set comprising all the names. The next step should be entrusted to a highly intelligent and absolutely trustworthy person who will carry it out exactly as indicated and not otherwise. He or she must arrange with two dozen women, representative of all classes to whom the preparation is to be sold, to give at least twenty minutes each day for two weeks to a special bit of work, for which it is best to pay if they will accept payment. Each one is told that she will receive by mail, each day, one of the sheets; that at some time of the day or evening when she is certain of not being disturbed she is to sit down, rest for ten minutes, then look at the word at the top of the sheet and write down in lines beneath it whatever words and ideas come into her mind. She is to look at the word frequently during the process and set down whatever she thinks of, relevant or irrelevant. When the sheet is filled she

is to mail it to the office. She should be told that she is coöperating in an advertising test, *but by no means should she be told what the word is connected with.* It is not critical faculty that is wanted, but the product of relaxed spontaneous association. She should never have two sheets in one day because the memories of one are likely to carry over to the other.

When all the sheets are completed, it will be found easy to group the associations under various affect-heads, beneath the general divisional heads of "favorable" and "unfavorable." The results may point clearly to one name or may show that three or four have almost equal elements of desirability. In any case, if the material has been properly gathered it will be found of great value.

I have known of one manufacturer who, after following something of this method, then threw away half of what he had gained, by advertising the fact. Suggestion, to take effect at the unconscious level, must remain at that level. As soon as you inform people how you plan to affect their minds you make it quite certain that you will produce an affect exactly opposite. In passing, it may well be questioned whether a manufacturer is often the best person to suggest names for his own product. His mind is naturally so full of unconscious associations peculiar to himself that it is very difficult for him to see his goods as the consumer sees them. What he really wants is to establish a wide market, but often un-

wittingly he lets his pride get badly in the way of so doing.

In line with the mechanism of association we must consider briefly the symbolism of form, color, letter and number, since these bear a direct relation to the mechanism. It is obvious that every design has a dual significance, the manifest and the latent or symbolic, and this is true of typography as well as of illustration.

The manner in which the picture of an automobile is presented does more than merely give the possible buyer the information that he wants about the lines of the car. It may reflect the maker's actual unconscious opinion of the car, or the opinion which he wishes the reader to have, or both; or the more involved suggestion of the pleasures which possession of the car would bring. The ideal presentation will combine all of these, carefully avoiding marked exaggeration as sure to convey a suggestion of insincerity and doubt. The one exception to the above would be if the maker's unconscious opinion of his own car is that it is an inferior product—in which case he will do well not to advertise it at all. The important thing is that artist, retoucher, lay-out man, engraver, and printer, all shall have a clear and comprehensive idea of the *elements* of the problem. "A good picture of our car," is only the beginning.

In the dentrifice illustrations which show a beautiful woman with brilliant teeth, and those which suggest the fear of disease and decay, we have two

different types of suggestion which aim by opposite symbols to produce the same results. I have often wondered why two of the clearest symbolic possibilities in dentifrice advertising are almost wholly neglected. They are there, waiting for anyone who will use simple analysis and synthesis.

Breakfast foods, and soaps, have been presented with much imagination in the design symbolism, but for both there is still a wide possibility which has been untouched—particularly so for the breakfast food.

But what concerns us more, and is least thought of, is the deeper significance of the actual elements in design. Geometrically every line and every space may be said to have a shape. Now it is true of nearly everybody that the eye perceptions are the most sensitive, most acutely impressive, and most important. Shapes of all sorts become highly charged with special meanings to the Unconscious, from the earliest years. If the reader will take a pencil and a number of pictorial designs, and mark them over heavily on the various spatial outlines, he will find that a few minutes given to each one, by the association method, will suffice to form many images which the outlines suggest. There will be images of people, objects, animals, flowers, trees, reptiles, human figures, etc., some pleasant and some unpleasant. Most of these will be unimportant, just as most of the things which are in the ordinary range of vision are unimportant; but some of them deserve

careful thought. They may not be *consciously* noted by the people to whom the advertisement goes, but their power to produce affects in the Unconscious can be, and has been, experimentally demonstrated.

Form and method in typography also have their symbolic significance, of which the following are examples: Careful setting, or slovenly setting;—indices of personality. Faces and borders disproportionately heavy;—a ponderous and fist-pounding aggressiveness which is commonly associated in our minds with a weak case. Too little text, "stuntily" set;—the impression that there was nothing to say, but an effort is being made to attract attention. Crowded text;—an impression of anxious stress and effort, from which the mind instinctively recoils. Long single columns with narrow type-body;—an impression of thinness and weakness. All italic, or mostly italic;—an impression of desperately strained emphasis, a reflection on the reader's intelligence. (It is worthy of note that the vogue of underlined copy was short. No one likes to be addressed as if he were thick-headed and dull of comprehension.) Type of faces that are disproportionately thin for the design;—weakness and lack of virility. Excessive decoration;—an insincere straining for effect.

Of the colors, red associates clearly with aggression, but equally with warmth, vitality, and pleasurable excitement. Blue associates with truth, sincerity, coolness, dignity; in its darker shades with solitude and repose; in its lighter shades with youth and out-

of-doors. Yellow associates with gold, sunlight, passivity, and—by slang connection—with cowardice and unreliability. The latter associations being wholly at the conscious level and entirely based on metaphor have no deeply determining value. Pink associates with youth, beauty, femininity. Green associates with strength, masculinity, steadiness, safety; white with purity; gray with dignity and repose; black with finality, elegance, death; purple with richness; lavender with sentiment. These are but a few of the many color associations, but they may serve to stimulate experiment, which will be found both interesting and profitable.

Of letters and numbers there are special associations peculiar to each individual, but also certain ideas of such widely general acceptance that they may well be considered in design and make-up. Examples are M standing for Mother, F standing for Father and family, H for Home—all these being deeply emotionalized ideas in the average Unconscious. The number 3 is a well-nigh universal power symbol, hence a favorite number, being associated with the Trinity, with the family complex of Father, Mother and Self, with mythology, proverb, and childhood games. The number 5 is also a favorite number, its significance arising in part from the number of the fingers with which comes the first ability to grasp and hold, and from its prominent place in our counting and monetary system. Women as a group show a marked fondness for 2, the symbolism

of which is mating and marriage, for many centuries their ideal of happiness and safety. For 7 the symbolism is sacredness, the number having deep significance in religion. The examples, as in the case of color and letter, do not begin to cover the subject, but may suggest its importance.

Before leaving the subject of association, it is necessary to consider advertising copy also from that viewpoint. The most helpful point of departure for all copy is a thorough analysis of just what conscious affects will stimulate and intensify the responses desired. We shall do well in this connection to study the "Law of Dominant Affect" advanced in the chapter on Suggestion and Autosuggestion. It was pointed out, there, that suggestion to become supremely effective must stimulate an affect which is strong enough *from its very nature* to accumulate sufficient energy so that it can supervene over all others and dominate the conduct. The dominant motive of the individual is Ego Maximation, but this has a great number of paths and an infinite variety of modes of expression.

For each primitive impulse there is a cultural check. The primitive desire to have a handsome house, or better clothes, or a faster car, than one's neighbors, meets the cultural resistance of expense, inexpediency, or self-criticism. We shall accomplish little by anticipating these objections if we merely meet them at the conscious level and try to outpersuade them. Trying to induce a man to "hang

the expense," may work occasionally, but its normal effect is only to direct attention more strongly on the expense. Indeed it is not far from the fact to say that anyone sold by persuasion has been only half sold and is more than likely to be dissatisfied. The higher level of procedure is to devote all the energy to stimulating, unconsciously to the possible customer, the affect (wish-feeling) which can over-ride all objections. This can be done, and is constantly being done, by steady iteration and reiteration of the merits of the goods, *but that does not prove that the method is the best;* it only proves that steady hammering can overcome a great deal of resistance. A successful flank attack costs less than pounding at a fortified wall.

With the deeper wish-feelings, which it is desirable to stimulate, clearly in mind, it is then possible to make a wide analysis of the associations which can excite these wishes and which will tend to do so unconsciously. (Examples will be given in connection with department store advertising.)

The entire campaign may now be planned as a direct, continuous and progressive play upon these associations; and the resultant power of the suggestion conveyed to the public will be far greater than the merely compulsive effect of unremitting argument or insistent laudation of the goods. If one could afford to waste time on negative criticism it would be very much to the point to observe how directly a natural resistance is aroused by such

slogans and catch-lines as announce to the reader (implying that he is stupid to resist) that it is only a question of time when he will certainly buy that product and no other. The cleverness (!) of such advertising consists in the ability of the inventor of the phrase to delude himself. I have placed such a phrase on an association sheet, with the name of the product, and tried the following experiment. To the question of *whether they considered it good advertising,* seventeen out of eighteen replied in the affirmative. To the next question, *"Do you use this article?"* the entire eighteen gave negative replies. To the third question, *"Would you prefer it to any other?"* two replied affirmatively, one refused to answer on the ground that the questions had been a trick, three were indifferent, and twelve returned a direct negative.

I shall next try to point out the connection between the mechanisms dealt with in the "Operating Tower" chapter, and effective advertising. The first example used there was that of the pin-pricked finger. The perception was telegraphed over the inward-bound nerve path and produced in the central station an affect which was unsatisfactory. The response was an effort to change the environment of the finger. To an affect which is satisfactory the tendency is to adjust the body's receptors (outer terminals of inward-bound paths) so as to get more of the same stimulation. To an affect of such low intensity as to amount to indifference, the tendency is not to

respond at all. To an affect which runs counter to conscious intentions there is resistance, hence conflict and disturbance. In the last of these we have the basis of resistance to advertising and selling. In the sum of the ramification of all of them we have the entire merchandising problem.

From the time one of us gets up in the morning until he goes to bed at night, someone is trying to sell him something. He encounters the efforts of a hundred to do this, in his morning paper. Every sign on a window or door, every card in the street-car, every cry of newsboy or street vendor, every electric sign, every billboard, every page of his evening paper, every advertising page of his magazine, is an effort to get him to do something which will require the expenditure of thought, time, energy and money. To prevent the complete disruption of his daily life, to protect the central station from intolerable disturbance, there has been developed both the habit-indifference to the stimulation and a high censoring resistance. To overcome these we must get to the very heart of the matter; we must provide images which will both surmount the indifference and, because of the strength of their pleasurable associations, evade the censorship.

This brings us to the question of how images are formed. We know that attention itself expends muscular energy. We know that most of the experiences of childhood have received their definition and reinforcement through motion or ideas of

motion. We know that to convey an idea vigorously almost always involves an image of motion. In this connection I quote the following excerpts from Kempf's *Autonomic Functions and The Personality.**

"The correlation of the stream of affectivity, as the determinant of the thought content of consciousness, with the stream of affectivity which determines the postural tonus of the skeletal muscles, become clear in the concept that certain forms of muscle activity largely constitute the thought process. . . .

"The affective stream should be seen as a continuous but complex stream of afferent impulses arising, peripherally, from the receptors in the autonomic apparatus. The thought content of consciousness is largely determined by the nature of the affective stream as it effects the postural tonus of the striped muscles. . . .

"It is natural to assume that the seat of consciousness or of the 'mind' occupies a region just behind and above the eyes, because the eyes and their extrinsic muscles are the supreme afferent channel of the entire organism. No interests may be aroused in anything without the eyes being immediately so focussed as to acquire additional information about its nature. When the eyes are useless, as in total darkness and blindness, the auditory apparatus tends to become the chief afferent channel. . . . No expression of thought is complete without the inclusion,

* Op. cit.

frankly or implied, of a verb. The verb denotes some form of motion, and rarely does the personality refer to or reproduce an image of a form of motion without the extrinsic muscles of the eye contributing kinesthetic sensations of movement as the eye follows the visual image of the moving object."

We have then the visual and auditory images as of primary and secondary forcefulness. If we can devise figures of speech and of design which *create both,* the impression will be all the stronger. The following examples are not given with the idea that they are all suitable for advertising, but merely to illustrate the principle of language which renders itself into motion images.

1. If I say, "the racing cars went past at a fast clip," I have only a feeble image. If I say, "they roared past like a cyclone," I have given a dual image, "roar" being associated with heavy vibration of the eardrums, and "cyclone" with a visual impression of great power and speed.

2. "Getting a smash in the eye" is an expression which includes three visual images and one auditory. In the sense of motion these are, the motion of the blow coming, the motion of the sound of impact, the motion of recoil, and the motion of aggression to return the blow.

3. The advertiser who says "this glove fits your hand as if made for it," conveys a two-fold motion image; the feel of the glove being smoothed over the hand, and the sight of it in place.

4. "A child is being attacked by a tramp." This phrase uttered in a tone of real alarm can stimulate a whole series of affects, each one of which is attended by rudimentary motion, all within the space of a few seconds. These would be analyzed, autonomically, as: a. Internal and external change of muscle tone as reaction to fear. b. Further changes in muscle tone as reaction to anger. c. Rudimentary muscular images of protection and rescue. d. Muscular images of vengeful punishment toward the tramp. e. Visual motion images of the attack. f. Auditory motion images of the child's cries.

5. A department store had received some very dainty flannelette nightgowns for children, which it was desirable to sell quickly. The section in the store's page announcing the garments, described them, dwelt on their warmth, and remarked that they were exceptional value for the price—a time-worn assertion that is passed by the average mind as meaning next to nothing. The nightgowns failed to move. Their price was cut, and still they failed to move. A bright young woman, whose imagination had not atrophied, suggested that she write a little advertisement which would give mothers this vision, *"a sleeping child, nestling comfortably in a garment whose material is as soft as the skin it protects."* (I am forced to quote from memory, but believe I have quoted accurately.) The nightgowns were sold. The sentence is a fine example of multiform sight and touch images adroitly combined in a suggestion

which stimulates directly the deepest wish-feelings in a mother's mind.

6. Dual motion images with respect to dress goods are admirably conveyed in the following: "This material has an extraordinary way of taking the lines of a figure—and keeping them!"

7. "Tired to death; but ready for a dish of ———," is a food headline which instantly produces motion images anything but pleasant or stimulating. An ideal headline is one which gives rise, through unconscious stimulation of pleasure wishes, to a frame of mind that is interested. In other words it will excite an impulse *to extend the receptors for more of the same stimulation.* Ten minutes given to a review of an average group of advertisements will suffice to show how generally this principle is overlooked. Indeed one might conclude that to the average advertising writer the principles of autonomic affect and response were not known, since there is no class of men and women more intelligent and apt in applying known psychological principles. The difficulty may well lie in the success with which many text-books on psychology manage to conceal their meanings in a maze of terminology.

8. "When Kreisler Draws The Bow"—. This headline, with a picture which included an excellent drawing of a phonograph and a "shadow drawing" of the great artist playing, could hardly be improved on as a graphic motion image associating to the pleasure of music.

9. The best series of visual motion images that

I have seen associated with clothing, occurs in the following: *"A Woman is as Slim as She Looks in* THE GRACILE SUIT *And a Woman Only Knows How Slender She Is When She Puts It On."* Divided into four lines and set with beautifully balanced 24-point upper and lower case italic contrasting with a graceful display face, it conveyed in the type itself the very image of the visual motion which it suggested. Moreover, the name "GRACILE" has a sense of most attractive motion.

10. "Make Your Food Your Medicine." The early childhood motion images associated with medicine are avertive and emissive. These are most unfortunate associations for food, certainly not conducive to the formation of a pleasure wish.

In the foregoing are examples of visual, auditory, and touch-sense images which have the quality of motion. The sense of smell, and the sense of taste, are much more difficult to stimulate through motion images, but that does not argue that it cannot be done. There are both external and internal muscle responses to these senses, and they have besides, a wide series of associations with experiences and events which were constellated with both motions and emotions. The first experience of a child in smelling a flower may have been followed by a move toward it and an effort to grasp it. I have observed that the words "pine woods," used as an association-stimulus, are commonly followed by slightly deeper respiration. "Sea air" will produce a similar reaction. (The stimulus words must be given without

the other person knowing what reaction is looked for; otherwise the reaction is likely to be inhibited.) Such words as "cloves," "lemon," "candy," "sour milk," "honey," "onions," are capable of producing almost instant reaction in the salivary glands, with more or less extended reaction in the alimentary tract as far as, and including, the stomach. These words are strong stimuli, and it may be rightly inferred that the force of a scent or taste image would become very slight if the ordinary descriptive words were used. We should not forget, however, that the visual sense may be relied on for intensification. "The fragrance of a red red rose" may actually be no stronger than that of a pale pink one; but to most people it will *seem* stronger, because there is an exciting visual image. "Fragrant as a summer morning" is a good example of multiplication of images, in this case a simile being used which will fit the experience of almost anyone except the few unfortunates who have never known a summer morning in the country.

The principle then is *to provide associative stimuli which will give images having the quality of motion,* and to play upon more than one sense if possible. This applies to design, display, copy and lay-out. The endeavor is to apply the suggestion as nearly as possible at the unconscious level. This brings us to the use of command and concretion, and their relation to American temperament and habit.

A mail-order man once said to me, "I always end my ads with a command. You can't get these hicks

to act unless you tell them at the end to take a pen, sit right down at the table, and answer *now!*" He may have been right with respect to the "hicks," but I do not believe that the wide adoption of his principle has been good for general campaigns. The direct command to "Use so-and-so," staring one in the face on all sides, is merely a nuance of the "Sit right down and write us today! Do it now!" It strikes one of the strongest unconscious resistances in the average American, that against being commanded instead of asked or invited.

It is closely associated with the sort of sign which says "Keep Out!—This means You!" The average unconscious—and often the conscious—tendency is to do exactly the opposite.

Instead of "Chew Blank's Gum after every meal," why not this—"After meals a breath-sweetening aid to digestion—Blank's Gum"? It is just as easy to avoid resistance as to stimulate it.

"Talcorose Powder—the perfect finish for a perfect shave," will not only make one think of using the powder, but may actually, through its unconscious suggestion, make a man shave better. Certainly it avoids the Unconscious resistance to the point-blank command.

Again, which is likely to win the average American more easily of the following contrasted endings?

1. "What is left to tomorrow usually is never done. Answer today, *now,* while you are thinking of it."

2. "There is an intelligent, courteous man in our

office who will write you immediately and fully—as freely and promptly as we hope you will write us."

(Number one is copied verbatim from an advertisement. Number two is not given as a model, but as a suggestion of the alternative principle.)

Turning to what I have termed "concretion," it should be explained that this refers to converting an unconscious suggestion into a conscious one, by putting in what has been called the "sales punch." From many association sheets among my notes I fancy that if some advertising writers could see them they might be inclined to consider "pulling" the punch or omitting it altogether. The first time a thing is done it may have the effectiveness of novelty, and its element of surprise may overcome its false psychology. For example a single vaudeville actor in the course of a performance may come out and slang the audience to their vast amusement, but let all the actors on the bill try any such thing and anger would soon take the place of amused indulgence. It has been pointed out that the presence of sales efforts on every hand results in a habit-indifference to the stimuli which is chiefly an automatic protective adjustment of people's minds. If a certain specific type of stimulus becomes too insistent, the result is irritation, and active, in place of passive, resistance. Just such a mechanism gave rise to the perennial mother-in-law jokes, and, in the field under consideration, to such jokes as, "If an ordinary man were muscled like a flea, he could throw a book agent two miles."

The following is an illustration of this insistence

upon concretion—upon refusing to trust the unconscious or the intelligence of readers. I had been explaining the principles of unconscious suggestion to a manufacturer of whole-wheat products. He seemed to grasp the idea, announced that he wholly approved of it, and asked me to illustrate it by designing an advertisement of whole wheat for a high-class mother's magazine. The primary interest of a mother being in the healthy growth of her children the matter required but a few moments' consideration. I handed him a hasty sketch as follows. Space, 6 inches double-column. At the opposite sides of the space, two figures facing each other across it. The figure at the left, a tall, handsome, smiling Russian* girl in holiday costume. The figure at the right a powerful young Scotch Highlander at the salute. The text:

> Physically splendid—the Russians and the Scotch! Strong and superbly healthy.
>
> The national food of one is whole-grain buckwheat: of the other, whole-grain oatmeal.
>
> Whole-grain WHEAT from America's rich prairies has even greater bone and sinew building power
> *—and it makes smoother, finer, handsomer skin.*

*This, of course, would be a poor symbol at the present time of famine in Russia.

He took the thing home to think it over, and two days later telephoned me that he would like to use it if I had no objection, but he thought it lacked "the selling punch," and he should like to add, in 18-point bold face at the bottom, before mentioning his product—"EAT WHOLE WHEAT." I assured him that I had no objection if he would in turn let me add the three words more which would complete the implication; making it read,—"EAT WHOLE WHEAT—YOU STUPID WOMAN."

For several widely distributed articles on the American market, particularly some popular flour, and some popular-priced automobile, there is a campaign possible which would accomplish more than almost any other in the last dozen years. The idea of it is obvious if one will but analyze the factors. The elements necessary to its success are almost made to order; but they do not include the "sales punch" or the direct command.

Next in line is the factor of negative suggestion. To a certain extent, all purely competitive advertising is negative; that is to say, in attempting to discredit a competitor's goods there is an implied reflection on the entire industry. Negative suggestion, however, is not confined to competitive copy. It appears in all forms of designs, headlines and opening paragraphs, in which the point of view has been to set up a possibly unsatisfactory situation and then

knock it down or overcome it. Let us take the following examples for brief analysis:

1. "Other stores may match our price—but they will not give you as much for it. They may also match our quality—but you will have to pay them more." The inevitable presumption here, since this store is obviously doing business to make a fair profit, is that the entire trade is in a conspiracy to deal unfairly with the public. Moreover, a blatant declaration that "we alone are honest" convinces nobody.

2. "Prove these things at any dealer's," implies that the writer expects to be doubted, and insinuates that advertising generally is overstatement; hence if the expression is used as a headline it suggests incredibility for what follows.

3. "Attention is a vague thing unless it has a definite meaning." This headline, it may be remarked, is as vague as its definition of attention. Why not make it positive, by saying "Our idea of ATTENTION is a whole-hearted effort TO SERVE YOU—"?

4. "Father came home that night so tired he couldn't eat his dinner. He made a brave effort, but the fatigue and worry of the day were too much for him. He sat through the meal and longed for bed. When dinner was over he dropped on the sofa and thought wearily of the morrow. But Mary

put on an irresistibly cheery record of Harry Lauder's latest—." Quite so. But why not let Mary put on the record just before he came in? "Father heard Harry Lauder singing even before he came up the steps. He opened the door and the irresistible chuckle of the Scot mingled with the merry answering laugh of little Mary." We are now quite ready to hear about the fatigue and the worry of the day because we know the phonograph and the delighted child banished them as if they had not existed—*and meantime they have not been loaded onto us.*

Negative suggestion is a well-marked tendency of many temperaments, particularly those which show a keen disposition toward argument. It is often true that some unexpected early weakness has given rise to a need for reassurance of personal power, hence the inclination to set up imaginary adversaries and then proceed to annihilate them. All writers will do well to analyze their past copy from time to time, and see if this tendency appears in it. The fault is readily corrected by persistent self-suggestion toward the constructive and cheerful side of things.

Before turning to personal salesmanship it may be profitable to consider a mechanism which need not be given any further definition than putting one's self in the other's place. This is not only a hard thing to do, but is in fact seldom done sufficiently to get more than a superficial sense of the other point

of view. I propose to discuss it with relation to people and also to things, and shall outline it as a twofold process of the imagination in which one must first demobilize one's attention as far as possible from one's self and then remobilize it abstractly as connected with the objective. In a sense this is a faculty of perspective; but it is not wholly that, since perspective merely places an object at a distance and does not add to one's comprehension of the object's own sense of relationship to its surroundings.

Let us assume that we have on our hands the problem of advertising the goods of a large department store in a good-sized American city. Our most important customer is Mrs. Housewife. We know that we have in our store nearly all the things she needs for her household, particularly if we have a department for the sale of groceries and meat. But we know, too, that we have got to sell her some things which do not come under the head of needs but of wants. If all the households are run on bare necessities, we shall have a poor business. As a matter of fact, American business at the time of this writing—September, 1921—is in part suffering from that very trouble. The psychology of fear has tightened every purse-string and set every Mrs. Housewife paring her budget to the core. Fortunately for us this cannot last forever because American temperament is both vital and courageous. Sooner or later, the anomaly of a country which has good crops and is five years behind in its building

program, yet suffering from industrial idleness, is going to take its place in the history of war's aftermath and be forgotten in new activity and prosperity.

We may safely start with the assumption that we know our goods, as well as the tradition, policy and ideals of our store. These are so fundamental that no advertising manager of the present day considers himself ready for work otherwise. But we must make sure that the latter factors are equally understood *and fully a part of the consciousness* of every buyer and department manager. This is by no means so simple as it seems. I have never yet addressed a meeting of department executives without discovering, in the questionnaire which followed, that there was a wide divergence of view and opinion both as to what the policy really was and as to what it ought to be. This is natural enough, since to differ is human; indeed intelligent and active criticism of management is very much to be desired. But where the differences are very marked it is of first importance to give all of them full expression, get the cards all on the table, and go into the matter exhaustively until all understand, accept, and agree to, the general lines of intention.

The next step should be one of the most thorough externalization of not only our own imagination but that of all members of the departmental staff. We need to project our imagination into Mrs. Housewife's home, and to the utmost possible extent make ourselves *au courant* of her personal psychology.

What is she driving at in life? What are her principal motives? What actuates them? What are her resistances? What are her models of action?

In the first place, she is, presumably, a mother. There is her relationship to children, to her husband, to her home, to her neighbors. We are involved in the comparatively simple endeavor to sell her something. But she is, herself, consciously or unconsciously, involved in an infinitely more complex effort of salesmanship. She wishes, in the business vernacular, to keep herself sold to her husband's affection, to her children, to her friends. She wishes in a natural pride, to "sell" home, husband and children, to her neighbors. She wishes to sell their future to her children, and prepare them to sell themselves effectively to the world. Her strongest primitive instinct concerns husband and children, with the latter probably a bit in the ascendant, since the biological intention of Nature needs to have the sharpest attention focussed on the more helpless young. (A mother will nearly always sacrifice herself more readily for children than for husband. This does not necessarily imply greater love, but a deeper instinctive affect.) Her models of action are partly those of her own Unconscious and partly those of the herd. She is acquiring the latter from several sources; her church, her contact with friends, her magazines, her daily newspapers. Her resistances are partly personal dislikes, partly the state of the pocketbook, partly the influence of her church, partly

her husband's influence, partly current public opinion.

These constitute the factors not so much for analysis as for appreciation. To help our imagination we need to form actual contacts. We need to absorb the point of view of others rather than to project our own. We may be lucky enough to have such a sympathetic understanding that we intuitively strike the right note most of the time, but the advertising writer will make no mistake in cultivating as wide a family acquaintance as does the astute ward politician. Given the right sort of temperament, I am not sure but a liaison officer would be a profitable investment for every large advertising department. This possibility is partly recognized in those persons whose business it is to circulate through the store and report customer's remarks, complaints, etc.

Having Mrs. Housewife's situation well in our mind's eye, we must next think of how we can establish in her mind a habit relation of our store and our goods to the motives which are directing her energies. This must be done without her becoming too conscious of what we are driving at. We do not want to draw her attention from her desires to ours, nor from her desires to our goods. We want rather to *stimulate and reinforce her attention to her own wishes,* and at the same time implant an association of our goods to those wishes.

We shall not accomplish this best by reflecting unfavorably on our competitors (a distraction of attention from the main line); by hammering on low

prices (which inevitably suggests doubt of quality); by over-stressing service (in which case performance always falls short of promise); by forever waving slogans (which are automatically discounted ninety-five per cent, for being exactly what they are, i. e., one's flattering opinion of one's self); by patronizing her intelligence (which too many stores do); or by frequent top-lofty references to ourselves, our prestige and our reputation (a habit which is no more admired or liked in a business house than in a person).

We shall do it best by going through, and insisting that all our department heads go through, one more projection of the imagination; this time onto our goods themselves. We shall make ourselves see these goods, not merely as desirable and reasonably priced merchandise, comparing favorably with any to be seen in the city, *but as an actual part of Mrs. Housewife's home, self, husband or children.* We shall then see each article in relation to its eventual surroundings; actually feel its capacity to give pleasure; visualize the pleasure itself; get a living sense of the wish it has fulfilled. We shall see food as the sturdy limbs, the glowing cheeks, the ringing laugh, of a child; as the elastic step and supple figure of a woman; as the vigorous muscles and dynamic energy of a man. Clothes will no longer be cloth but part of a vivid human personality. In a tennis racquet we shall feel the thrill of swing and impact, the joy of the game. We shall associate

fruit-jars with the delicious things they are to contain. A dining table will not be merely a part of the dining-room furniture, but the center of happy daily contacts, of merry parties, of precious reunions. Garden tools will be associated with the things they help to make grow, fragrant blossoming flowers and succulent vegetables. Musical instruments will no longer be merely things of "pure tone" and "sterling workmanship," but the instantly responsive voices of all the finer human emotions.

In short, we shall bring to life *in ourselves* the images which we need to transmit to Mrs. Housewife to arouse *her* imagination, and excite and stimulate her wish-feelings until they overcome her resistances.

And finally I would suggest consideration of the, as yet, scarcely dreamed of power to direct *group psychology* through the advertising pages. Here and there we see evidences that the idea has occurred to one and another. The editorials, if one might so term the daily signed statements which appear as part of the advertising of a great New York store, are a step in this direction. But what I have in mind is rather the projection through all large advertising space, of an always cheerful, optimistic, eager attitude toward life. The daily news columns are a barometer of the rise and fall of the national cheerfulness. Their power of suggestion is beyond human estimate. Uneasiness becomes fear, fear becomes gloom, gloom grows to depression and spreads

like a virulent epidemic. Against the contagion of the daily news the advertising pages fight to stem the tide and keep business alive. It is of no use to tell people not to be afraid. That is merely suggestion to the will, at the conscious level, and encounters Coué's Law of Reversed Effort. The need of the hour, of the day, of all the days, is a widespread and unfailingly cheerful publicity. The advertising page can reflect in a hundred ways, in its every manner of utterance, the buoyant spirit of American progress and sure expectancy. In so doing, it will honor and serve America as well as further its own good purpose.

SELLING

The art of salesmanship is the art of making somebody want one thing more than another. The "order taker" is not essentially a salesman. There is no reason, however, why he should not become one. He is a part of the organization and his handling of the operations devolving upon him can create an impression which favors further purchases. We must, therefore, by no means exclude him from our calculations, for we have to think of selling not merely as getting a specific order but as making a friend for the house. It is quite as much in the failure of this latter possibility as in the failure to close sales that selling effort falls short. Whether we ascribe the trouble to lack of intelligence on the part of the salesman, lack of the right sort of train-

ing, or failure of the organization to back up the salesman's work, the result is the same. We must, therefore, consider it from all three angles. The basic principle always holds good; in getting an order which has involved any real selling, the salesman has made the customer want the article more than the money he must pay, and more than any competing article; in making the customer friendly to the house, the salesman and the organization behind him have made the customer want this environment more than that of a rival concern.

Before proceeding with analysis of the three angles, let us examine the resistances, for at each step in the sales process there is likely to be a separate and distinct obstacle. First of all is the natural autonomic resistance to disturbance of equilibrium. In the preceding section was reviewed the omnipresent urge to buy something, an urge from which even our homes can no longer protect us since the advent of the telephone. As pointed out there, our minds erect barriers of defense which are partly habit-indifference to oft-repeated stimuli, and partly censoring operations which guard consciousness from disturbance. No proof of the importance to us of this system of self protection is needed, since we have all been aware of sharp annoyance when our composure was disturbed by the sudden importunity of a street vendor or the refusal of a persistent canvasser to take "No!" for an answer. Even when a salesman is following up an inquiry, it is still not

safe to neglect this condition, because inquiry is often prompted by a passing impulse which was far from strong enough to hold interest against the natural tendency toward maintaining the *status quo*.

There are two most desirable ways to get around this resistance, one of which—making one's personality pleasing—will be discussed later. The other is to make a careful analysis of just what wishes would be furthered by possession of the thing which is to be sold, select the one or two strongest of these and devise a way to stimulate them from the very first; before calling, if possible.

Suppose an automobile prospect were to receive, twenty-four hours before the salesman called, addressed to himself and family, a neat folder showing in small scale two or three route outlines of one-day or one-week trips, attractively illustrated with a number of alluring bits of scenery en route. There would be strong stimulation of the pleasure senses; and the entire absence of advertising material, car talk or sales urge, would leave the affect unresisted. The first words of the salesman could then be directed to the topic of the trips (in which he should for the present purpose have made himself far more interested than in the immediate sale of his car), and if he has been over them himself and thoroughly enjoyed them, so much the better. He will then get across to the prospect a really vivid picture of the pleasure of motoring. As he feels the resistance lessening, he can bring in other descriptions. From

the other's responses and comments he can quite accurately judge whether the time approaches for beginning to "talk car" specifically, or whether his wisest plan is to let the talk "soak in" and content himself, for this interview, with getting on friendly terms. If he has observed carefully, he will have noted just what the prospect's keenest motoring interests are, and is in a position to mail, or deliver in person, other interesting material.

This illustration does not cover all cases, obviously, but it points to a principle. There is a major wish to be stimulated in every sale, and it is not stimulated by the salesman being so concentrated on his goods, so wrapped up in the idea of making the prospect do something he does not want to do —and making him do it immediately—that his point of view and mental status are lost sight of. The sort of thing usually sent to an automobile prospect is a letter or folder packed to the borders with laudatory data about the car to be sold, of interest only if the prospect is keen or is an experienced car owner, and of almost no possible interest to his family if he has one. Analysis of the wishes which one's goods can fulfill is the very beginning of sales art, first because it steadily increases one's understanding of the buyer's mental situation, and second because it trains one to think of one's goods as instruments of human service instead of merely as things which one wants to get rid of for money. The prospect was a human being before he was a prospect,

and he remains a human being when he becomes a prospect. The sale will be most strongly made if it is *made by the prospect himself,* in satisfaction of his strongly aroused wishes rather than by the salesman in satisfaction of his own or his employer's wishes.

The second line of resistance is commonly one of price; the conflict between wish to possess the article and wish not to spend the money. Not infrequently the adroit salesman will discover that the apparent reluctance to spend the money turns on a wish to spend it for something else. The hesitation may not be between the automobile and the price, but between the automobile and a motor boat or a piano. This possibility should never be overlooked, because it may be a critical factor, and there is nothing more hopeless than working against an unknown resistance.

Generally speaking, any house will profit by meeting the money issue fairly and squarely, the moment it comes up, without hesitation or sidestepping. A salesman's time is worth money. There is no point in wasting it trying by call after call to persuade someone to buy something which cannot possibly be paid for. If such a sale is eventually closed on deferred payments, the costs of collection and eventual replevin are enough to eat up the profit on one or more good sales. And instead of a friend, the house has made an enemy. There is a certain music house which for years made its chief emphasis to

its salesmen, "Close the sale, and close it for the highest-priced instrument you can put over—but close the sale!" This policy, insistently pounded home, with little or no effective qualification, resulted in a large volume of business; but I am reliably informed that the house has fewer friends and more discontented customers than almost any other in its home city. That purchase which becomes a burden is a poor sale.

Third in the sequence of resistances is division of interest or authority. This division may be within a family or within a business and may turn on personal relationships which are, consciously or unconsciously, most involved. Husband and wife may often appear to agree and yet have an unconscious resistance to each other's wishes. Two members of the same executive staff may coöperate well enough superficially, and yet feel, underneath, a very definite jealousy and opposition. The fact of its not appearing on the surface does not dispose of the possibility. Knowledge of unconscious symbolism gives us the key that can unlock the doors of discovery. By manner of speaking, comment, look, trifling gesture, tone of voice, by a score of unconscious indications, the true state of mind of one person toward another is revealed in spite of conscious precaution.

A salesman was trying to close a large contract with a concern operated mainly by father and son. Interviews were with the son, a mature executive who ostensibly had all necessary authority. The

salesman could see that the son was thoroughly sold, but could not seem to escape a series of small detailed objections which appeared to occur always when the time came for action. Puzzling over the situation, he remembered *that the father had been present at the first interview but not at any of the succeeding ones.* To avoid further delay, he put a point-blank question, perceived in a very few minutes that son and father were deeply at odds, and realized too late that he should have maneuvered to keep the father in the situation from the first, since the father actually retained the power of veto over almost any business act of the son.

Similarly, the purchasing department of a large New York house gave salesmen unending trouble with cancellations. One salesmen at length took his case direct to the president of the concern who with quick intelligence put his finger on the root of the trouble—a strong personal dislike of the comptroller for the purchasing agent.

Many a salesman has unwittingly "wasted his sweetness on the desert air" by trying to sell his wares to a husband when he should have sold them to the wife. The point of interest, in our psychology, is that if the salesman will train himself to observe acutely he can very often diagnose these situations, to his profit. They cannot exist without there being, sooner or later, perceptible evidences of them.

Last of the resistances to be considered is the splitting of interest between two competing lines.

The manner of meeting this to be recommended may occasion some surprise, for it is not at all that of aggression. Instead, the first thought of the keen-minded salesman should be a spirit of sincere helpfulness. The customer's problem may be really difficult. The salesman, presumably, has expert knowledge that can be of great value. If he honestly wishes to place this at the customer's service, and will refrain from belligerent or destructive attack on his rival's goods, the sincerity of his intentions will get across and be appreciated. His aggressiveness, meantime, can assume a most effective line by his taking the following attitude with the prospective customer: "I am neither selling my competitor's goods, nor trying to prevent him from selling them. All I should like to know is what he says about mine. I can then show you whether he is right or not—since, naturally, I know my goods better than he does." This method, carefully worked out by a store in Pittsburgh lost one competitive sale out of fourteen, in a period of five months. Its success, however, was due not only to an appreciation of the sound psychology underlying it, but to the thorough training of every salesman in the details of applying it.

Returning to the three angles of criticism, we are to deal first with possible lack of intelligence on the part of a salesperson. This begins in failure to comprehend the significance and importance of the position held. As a matter of fact any position which brings an employee in contact with a customer is an

important position. Years of advertising may have been necessary to produce the impulse which has brought a customer into a certain store for the first time. They very first contact can now add force to the advertising, or it can give immediate dissatisfaction sufficient to destroy all the effect of the years of cumulative impression. Nine times out of ten the outstanding fault of the inefficient salesperson is the unconscious one of concentration on self instead of on the customers. Selling merchandise is really an interesting game, and success in it depends upon having both eyes on the ball. If one eye is on a person at the next counter, the other on tonight's visit to the movies, and both ears are on what George is saying to the aisle manager, while the mind is reluctantly leaving a day-dream, the customer will probably have to repeat the inquiry at least twice. Said customer will then remark to two or three other people in the afternoon and evening, "Oh, they never want to sell you anything at that store! You have to literally take the goods away from them by main force, if you want them at all!" This hurts the store; but also it makes the salesperson a failure. Promotion will be slow, if it ever comes at all.

Next to the lack of attention may be put unpleasant mannerisms and carelessness of attitude. In a trip through one large store I noted several employees covertly chewing gum. Some have a habit of looking away when answering a question, others will raise the eyebrows patronizingly if the customer ventures an unfavorable opinion of goods, still others

express in voice and manner entire indifference to the customer's particular search; but the most annoying fault of all is carrying on, in *sotto voce* asides, an unfinished conversation with a fellow employee while ostensibly giving attention to the customer. Another annoying attitude, more commonly seen on the part of salesmen (particularly young ones) than saleswomen, is that of obsequiousness—an exaggerated anxiety to please. If toned down with experience, it is a good fault, but if allowed to become a fixed habit it will be more often irritating than liked.

Reluctant as we may be to admit the superiority of another nation to our own in any field, it is a pity that a few representatives from stores in each of our large cities cannot have an opportunity to observe the salespeople in the stores of Geneva. They have an interested, alert, attentive manner, a courteous respect for the customer's opinion, and an invariably smiling "Good day, Madame!" (whether Madame has bought anything or not) which are invaluable assets to merchandising. It is rarely that one leaves a Geneva store of any importance without a distinct feeling that the visit has been a pleasure.

The second critical angle is lack of training. How many salespeople in stores, how many outside salesmen, are adequately trained? What do they really know about the goods they are selling? How much coaching have they had in the right way to handle the many varying types of human beings of both

sexes who are going to approach them? What effort, what constructive criticism has been devoted to helping them correct faults of temperament or manner? How much interest do they feel is taken in their work and in their progress? How much thought has been given to placing them where they will be most effective? How thoroughly have they been made to feel their responsibility as representatives of an ambitious, progressive organization?

Every one of these questions touches an element of first importance in the making of a salesman or saleswoman. From my point of view one of the very best investments that a large mercantile business can possibly make is the salary of a highly competent trainer of sales personnel. This would seem to be obvious, yet it is one of the last things which many executives are willing to invest money in. I have even heard the claim advanced that it "upsets the older salesmen"! In one concern it took just one sales meeting to discover that only thirty-five per cent of the older salesmen could pass a searching examination on their own goods. A salesman should, first of all, know the history of his goods from the source of the raw material to the last stage in manufacture. He cannot be expected, otherwise, either to speak with unassuming authority or with fundamental enthusiasm. If he can actually be shown the processes of manufacture, so much the better.

Before undertaking to handle customers, he

should be schooled by observation, specific training, and practical rehearsal, in every detail of meeting people under all possible pre-arranged conditions of actual selling. His faults should be listed, pointed out, and worked over until they are fully corrected. His personality should be carefully studied with a view to placing him, as far as possible, in his best surroundings. The very thoroughness with which he is prepared; above all, the earnestness of his superior officers, will make him feel the significance and importance of his work, as well as the enduring, sincere purpose of the organization behind him.

This brings us to the third angle; that of the bearing, on sales, of the concern's goods and service. It is difficult to estimate, since "good will" is variously set down, in balance sheets, from one dollar to tens of millions—and moreover the value varies greatly with different types of business. But, in general, I think it would be fair to say that one-quarter of the net sales-effectiveness will be lost if the service is bad, and up to ninety per cent if the goods seriously fail of the promise. The sale has been made and the profit gained, so there cannot be total loss, but the potential loss is enormous. Psychologically, the latter situation represents to the customer *the defeat of a wish, reflection on personal sagacity as a buyer, and violation of trust.* If service alone is the failure, matters may perhaps be squared; but unsatisfactory merchandise is hard to forgive.

Finally, we come to the salesman as part of a

prospective customer's environment. And here if ever in the relationship of man to man is needed that ability to get out of one's self, nay more, a complete *willingness* to get out of one's self; to sense acutely the Unconscious personality, feelings, reactions, of another.

This view will be flatly contradicted by the go-after-him-hard, look-him-in-the-eye-and-make-him-do-it school of salesmanship; but it is nevertheless the next higher step in American selling methods. Man is an adaptive mechanism, and his defenses are an essential part of his adaptiveness. The affect to any form of stimulation varies inversely as the frequency of the repetition. There was a day, for example, when the simplest mail-series was highly effective in advertising, because it was a new form of stimulus. But with the increasing frequency of repetition came gradual indifference, then irritation at the flood of mail-cards, folders, circulars, booklets, which cumbered the day's mail. The more repetition increased the more deeply the recipient "dug himself in." The defensive process was automatic, a necessary protective mechanism of the mind. Today an old-style mail-series is practically useless.

This is paralleled by the history of attack and defense in warfare. The theory and practise of attack must always be progressing to new levels of invention, or defense will render it abortive. Now it is precisely this posture of attack and defense that American business, and particularly selling and buy-

ing, needs to get away from. The laws of attack and defense are immutable—but so also are the laws of favorable response.

There is scarcely a man, woman or child, who will remain on the defensive against a clearly felt environment of agreeable, considerate, sincere wish to render helpful service. The "big salesman" of the near future will be the man who not only understands how the Unconscious minds of others respond to, or react against, their environment, but has so schooled his own temperament that his presence brings a sense of pleasure and satisfaction instead of a sense of conflict and tension. This result cannot be secured by mere appearance or manner. The salesman who relies on these has never better than an even chance that the personal taste of the prospective customer will be pleased. No one of us forms any significant liking *on sight* for fifty per cent of the people newly encountered. But any man by thoughtful observation *of what he likes most in others* can make a very helpful comparative analysis of himself, and can steadily cultivate those personal attributes to which others will, as it were instinctively, respond. It is the use of a principle basic to our psychology—making *one's self* the environment to which there is the response of *extension toward* instead of *withdrawal from.*

Moreover, there are ample data for the observant salesman, which will guide him to an understanding of the temperament with which he is dealing.

In furnishings of house or office, in pictures, books, clothing, manner, voice, language, gestures, in every detail of surroundings and personal get-up, in the very sort of assistants employed, the prospective customer has told the Unconscious story of himself. Let it not be read too hastily, or acted upon too obviously. Yet I know a salesman who guessed rightly the soft side of a flinty customer from the latter's use of the simile, "Pawing like a 2:10 pacer ready for a race." And I know another who sold a grand piano because he noticed a copy of Mrs. Browning's "Sonnets from the Portuguese" lying on the reading table, and was able to quote a line from one of the sonnets quite casually in the course of his talk.

The salesman himself should study and practise the use of very varied similes. They are easily fitted into the sales talk, and anyone of them may elicit that slight smile, or change of expression, or unconscious movement of the hand, that tells of a keen interest being touched—which interest often gives a valuable index of habit or tastes.

But through all, and in all, the *spirit* of the method is what must count. If the data are being searched for with the sole purpose of *finding a way to get under the other's guard,* sooner or later the other will know it, and all one's efforts will be tinged in the other's mind with insincerity. But if the true purpose in seeking to understand the other's personality is to adapt one's self more helpfully, *to be a*

more serviceable human being, that too will become known—and it is on such a foundation that there may be built a sales relation, a coöperative business friendship, which will stand the test of time.

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F. P.

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